

The Labyrinth

Q^{uo} VALERIUS MAXIMUS

HIS

COLLECTIONS

Of the Memorable

ACTS And SAYINGS

OF

ORATORS, PHILOSOPHERS, STATES-

MEN, and Other Illustrious Persons of

the Antient Romans, and

Other Foreign Nations,

Upon Various Subjects,

TOGETHER

With the Life of that Famous HISTORIAN

Newly Translated into English.

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To the Right Honourable
HENEAGE Lord *FINCH*,
Baron of *Darenty*,
AND
Lord High CHANCELLOR of England.

May it please your Honour,

HAVING lately experienc'd the
Influences of your Honours
Favours, I hold my self in
Duty bound to pay my Acknowledgements to the utmost of my power; which
is, in this Address to declare your Piety
and your Bounty: For which reasons
I had been guilty of Injustice, had I
sought for any other Patron, being
lately so generously remembred by your
Honour. Thus I endeavour to shew
my Gratitude, though the highest Pinnacle thereof bears no proportion with
the large Pillars of your Honours High
Worth and Dignity; well observing
what is in ancient Story recorded of
Lycurgus the Lacedemonian Law-giver,
that he slighted the making a De-
A creē

The Epistle Dedicatory.

free against Ingratitude, imagining no man could be so sordidly wretched, as to be guilty of that horrid Crime. Wherefore, to pay my Debt in the best Coyn I have, I humbly offer this to your Honours Patronage, it being a Collection of the *Acts and Sayings of Oratours and States-men*; and who can be more fit to receive them than the far-excelling Tully of our Age? Of whom I may say as once the ancient Roman, *Omniū somnos tua vigilantia, omniū delicias tua industria, omniū vacationem tua occupatio.*

May it please your Honour not to give your Lordship any farther trouble; your Acceptance and Pardon is humbly implor'd by

Your Honours
Obedient, Devoted,
and Obliged Servant,

Samuel Speed,



THE
L I F E
O F
VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

V*alerius Maximus*, a Roman Citizen of a *Patrician* Family, spent his childhood and youth in the study of Learning. Then coming to be of age, he betook himself to the *VVars*; where he is said to have serv'd for some time, and to have sail'd with *Sextus Pompey* into *Asia*. VVhence returning home, when he found himself able to profit his Country by well speaking as well as doing, from which the love of Honour had for some time diverted him, he resolv'd to put forth the Acts and Sayings, the

A 2 most

The Life of Valerius Maximus.

most remarkable, of the Roman City, and of forraign Nations ; which he very luckily finish'd. He flourish'd in the Raign of *Tiberius Caesar*, and in his time, whose Numen he invokes, he wrote this History : For the Roman Emperours, when by their vertue they had justly and uprightly manag'd the Empire, were translated into the number of the Gods, and were call'd *Diui Imperatores*. He deriv'd his Pedigree by the Fathers side from the *Valerian* Family ; by the Mothers side, from the *Fabian* : from both which he obtain'd the name of *Valerius Maximus*. Of his Death there is nothing certain reported.



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Quintus



Quintus Valerius Maximus

OF

Memorable things.

LIB. I.

The PROLOGUE

TO

AUGUSTUS TIBERIUS CÆSAR.



*Have resolved with my self,
to collect together the Deeds
and Sayings of most note,
and most worthy to be re-
membred, of the most emi-
nent persons both among the
Romans and other Nations,*

*taken out of the most approved Authors, where
they lie scattered at such a distance, that makes
them hard to be known; to save them the trou-
ble of a tedious search, who are willing to fol-
low their Examples. Yet I have not been over-
desirous to comprehend all: For who in a
small Volume is able to set down the Deeds of*

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many

many Ages ? Or what wise man can hope to deliver the order of Domestick and Forraign story, which our Predecessors have done in such happy stiles, either with greater care, or more abounding Eloquence ? Therefore, Cæsar, thy Countries onely safety, thee I invoke in the beginning of my Undertaking, whom the consent of Gods and men hath ordain'd the great Commander both of Sea and Land; by whose Divine providence those Vertues, of which I am to discourse, are most favourably cherish'd, Vices most severely punish'd : For if the antient Orators did well to begin from the Omnipotent Jove, if the most excellent Poets did always call some particular Numen to assist 'um ; much the rather does my little Work fly to your protection : For other Gods we adore onely in Opinion, you we behold equal to your Fathers and your Grand-fathers Stars in brightness, whose resplendent Lustres have added not a little to the Ceremonies of our Religion. Others we receive for Gods, Cæsars we make such. And because it is my intention to begin with the worship of the Gods, I shall discourse briefly of the nature thereof.

CHAP. I. Of Religion.

OBSERVED BY 13. Lucius Tarquinius *the*1. *The people of Rome.* King.2. Lucius Metellus, *High-Priest.* 14. Marcus Attilius Regulus.

3. Titus Gracchus.

15. *The Roman Senate:*4. *Colledge of Priests.*5. Q. Fabius *Dictator, and C. Flaminius Mr. of the Horse.* NEGLECTED BY6. Pub. Crassus *High-priest.* 16. C. Terence Varro.7. *The Disciple of Æmilia the Vestal Nun.* 17. Appius Cæcus, *and the Family of Potinius.*8. Marcellus *junior, Consul.* 18. *A Roman Souldier, and Brennus the Gaul.*9. Lucius Furius Bibaculus. 19. P. Turullius *Admiral.*

10. Lucius Albinus. 20. Q. Fulvius Flaccus

11. C. Fabius Dorso. *Censor.*12. Q. Petillius Spurius 21. Q. Pleminio *Legat for the Pretor.*

Forraign Examples of Religion observ'd or neglected.

1. Pyrrhus *King of Epirus.* 5. *The Souldiers of King*2. Massanisa *King of Numidia.* Alexander.3. Dionysius *the Elder of Sicilie.* 6. Perseus.4. Thymaltheus *Prince of the Liparitans.* 7. Athenians.8. Diomedon *an Athenian Captain.*

OBSERVED.

1. Our Ancestors appointed that the set and solemn Ceremonies should be ordered by the know-

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ledge

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Judge of the High-Priests; the right Administration of these Ceremonies, and authority for so doing, the observations of the *Augurs*, the Predictions of *Apollo*, should depend upon the Books of the *Sibyls*; but that the mysteries or Wonders should be untold according to the Rules of the *Ettrurian* Discipline: For by the antient Institutions, when we were to commend any thing to the Gods, we gave our selves to Prayer; when any thing was earnestly to be desired of the Gods, then to Vows; when any thing to be paid, to Thanksgiving; when enquiry after future success was made, to obtain by Request; when any solemn Sacrifice was to be done, to sacrifice: By which means the significations of Wonders and Thunders were likewise discovered.

So great also was the care of our Ancestors, not onely to observe, but to increase Religion, that by decree of Senate, ten of the Sons of the chief men were sent out of their most flourishing and opulent City to the severall people of *Ettruria*, to learn the Order and Discipline of Ceremonies.

1. And when they had resolved to worship *Ceres* after the Greek manner, they sent for *Calcitana*, or, as others say, *Calliphimia*, from *Vilia*, which had not yet received the name of a City, to be their Priestess, that they might not want a skilful Governess of the antient Ceremonies of the Goddess: To whom having in the City a most stately Temple dedicated, and being warn'd in the *Sibyls* Books to appease the ancient Goddess *Ceres* in the time of *Gracchus* Tumult, they sent ten persons to *Enna*, where they believed her Sacred Mysteries were first instituted, to make an Atonement for themselves. And many times our Emperours and Commanders having obtained great Victories, have owe themselves to *Pessinuntus*, there to perform their vows to the Mother of the Gods.

2. *Metellus* High-Priest, when *Posthumius* the Consul, and also a Flamin of *Mars*, desired *Africa* for his Province to make War in, commanded him under a penalty not to depart the City, thereby to desert his Function; believing that *Posthumius* could not safely adventure himself in Martial Combats, when the Ceremonies of *Mars* were neglected.

3. Praiseworthy was the Reverence of the Twelve, but more to be extoll'd, the obedience of the Twenty four Fases: for *Titus Gracchus* sent Letters to the Colledge of *Augurs* out of his Province, by which he gave them to understand, that having perus'd certain Books belonging to the Sacred Myteries of the people, he found that the Tabernacle was erroneously taken at the grand Consular Assemblies for Election, which he had caus'd to be made; which thing being reported to the Senate, by command thereof *C. Figulus* returning out of *Gallia*, *Scipio Nasica* from *Corfica*, both laid down their Consulships.

4. For the same reason, *P. Clodius* of *Sicilie*, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *C. Claudius*, for that the Entrails were less reverently brought to the Altars of the Gods than they ought to have been, at several times, and in several Wars, were commanded and compelled to leave the Flaminship. And because a Bee fell upon the head of *Sulpicius* while he was sacrificing, he lost the Priesthood.

5. The peeping of a Mouse being overheard, was the reason that *Fabius Maximus* quitted the Dictatorship, and *C. Flaminius* ceased to be Master of the Horse.

6. To this we may add, that *P. Licinius* High-Priest thought fit to give the lash to a Vestal-Virgin, for that one night she had been negligent of the Holy fire.

7. But *Vesta* her self sav'd the Hand-maid of *Emilia* the Vestal, who had let the fire out; for while she

was worshipping, and had laid her Vail which was very rich upon the Hearth, presently the fire caught hold thereof.

8. No wonder then that the indulgence of the Gods was so great in preserving and increasing their Empire : for such a scrupulous care seemed to examine the smallest concerns of Religion, so that our City is to be thought never to have had her eyes off from the most exact worship of the Gods. And therefore when *Marcellus*, five times Consul, having taken *Clastidium*, and after that *Syracuse*, would have in performance of his Vows, erected a Temple to Honour and Vertue : He was opposed by the Colledge of Priests, who deni'd that one Domicil could be rightly dedicated to two Gods. For if any Prodigy should happen, it would remain doubtful to which Deity should be made Address : nor was it the custome to sacrifice at once to two Deities, unless to some in particular. Upon which Admonition of the Priests, *Marcellus* in two several Temples set up the Images of Honour and Vertue; whereby it came to pass, that neither the authority of so great a man was any hindrance to the Colledge, nor the addition of expence any impediment to *Marcellus*, but that all Justice and Observation was given to Religion.

9. *Lucius Furius Bibaculus* hath hard'y any Example to parallel him, unless that of *Marcellus* : Nor is he to be deprived of the praise of a most pious and religious minde, who while he was Pretor, being commanded by his Father, Principal of the Colledge of the *Salian* Priests, carried the *Aucilia*, six Lictors going before him; though he might have pleaded an excuse from that duty, by vertue of his place. But our City valued Religion above all things, preferring it before the authority of all soveraign Majesty : therefore their Emperours have not scrupled to obey in Sa-
cred

cred things; believing they should the more easily obtain the sole command of humane things, if they were constantly and truly obedient to the Divine power.

10. Which resolution hath been also bred up in the breasts of private persons. For when the City was taken by the *Gauls*, and that the *Quirinal Flamen* and the *Vestal Virgins* were forced to carry the Sacred things, taking every one a share of the burthen, having now pass'd the *Sublician Bridge*, and ready to descend the Rock that leads to *Janiculum*; they were spied by *Alvanius*, who was driving a Cart wherein he had put his Wife and Children, who no sooner saw them in that condition, but regarding publick Religion more than private Charity, commanded them to alight; and then placing the Holy things, and ordering the *Vestal* to get in, he left his own intended Journey, and drave them till he came to the Town of *Cere*; where, because they were curteously and reverently received, we testifie our thanks, and honour the memory of their Humanity: For thence it came to be instituted, that those Sacred Rites were called Ceremonies, because the *Ceretans* worshipped and observed them as well in the low as flourishing state of the Commonwealth: And that Mean and Country Cart, on a sudden the receptacle of so much Honour, came to equal, if not out-vie, the glory of a Triumphant Chariot.

11. About the same time, memorable was the Example of observ'd Religion which *Cains Fabius Dorso* gave us: for when the *Gauls* besieged the Capitol, lest the accustomed Sacrifice of the *Fabii* should be put by, clad in a *Gabin* habit, and carrying the Sacred things in his hands and upon his shoulders, he at length pass'd through the midst of the Enemy to the *Quirinal-Hill*, where having performed what was to be done, he returned to the Capitol with Divine Adora-

tion of his victorious Atchievement, as if he had been a Victor indeed.

12. Great also was the care of preserving Religion among our Ancestors, where *Publius Cornelius* and *Babius Tamphilus* were Consuls: For the Labourers that were digging a Field of *Petillius* the Scribe, at the foot of *Janiculum*, delving somewhat deeper than ordinary, found two little Stone-chests; in one whereof was a Writing, declaring, That it was the body of *Numa Pompilius* Son of *Pomponius*: In the other were seven Books in the Latine Tongue, treating of the right of the High-Priest; and as many in Greek, discoursing of Wisdom. For the preservation of the Latine Books they took especial care; but the Greek one, (for there seemed to be some things therein prejudicial to their Religion) *Lucius Petillius* the Pretor by decree of Senate caus'd to be burnt in a publick Fire made by the Officers belonging to the Sacrifices: for the antient *Romans* could not endure that any thing should be reserved in the City, which might be a means to draw the minds of men from the worship of the Gods.

13. *Tarquinius* the King caus'd *Marcus Tullius* the *Duumvir* to be sow'd in a Sack after the antient manner, and to be thrown into the Sea, for that he had for a Bribe delivered to *Petronius Sabinus* a certain Book containing the Mysteries of the Civil Sacred things committed to his keeping. Most justly, seeing that violation of Trust deserves the same punishment among men, as from the Gods.

14. But as to those things which concern the Observation of Religion, I know not whether *Atilius Regulus* have not excelled all that ever went before him, who of a famous Conquerour being now become a Captive, through the wiles and ambushments of *Hannibal* and *Xantippus* the *Lacedemonian*, he was sent

sent to the Senate and people of *Rome*, to try if he could get himself, being but one, and old, redeemed for several young and noble *Carthaginians*; who when he came, advised the Senate to the contrary, and went back to *Carthage*, well knowing to what cruel and inveterate Enemies he returned; but he had sworn so to do, if he could not obtain the release of their Captives. Surely the Immortal Gods had reason to have mitigated their fury; but that the glory of *Atilius* might be the greater, they permitted the *Carthagians* to take their own inhumane courses: As they who in the third *Punic* War would severely recompence the death of so noble a Soul with the destruction of their City.

15. How much more religious toward the Gods did our Senate shew themselves? which after the fatal overthrow of *Cannæ*, decreed that no women should mourn longer than thirty days, to the end the Rites of *Ceres* might be by them performed. For now the greatest part of the men lying slain upon the bloody accursed Earth, there was no Family in the City that did not partake of the general Calamity. And therefore the Mothers and Daughters, Wives and Sisters of the slain were compelled to put off their Mourning-weeds, and put on their White-garments, and to perform the office of Priests. Through which constancy of observing Religion, forc'd the Deities themselves to blush, and be ashamed of raging any more against such a Nation, that could not be drawn from adoring them that with so much cruelty destroy'd them.

NEGLECTED.

16. It is believ'd, that the reason why *Varro* fought with so much ill success at *Cannæ* against the *Carthaginians*, was through the wrath of *Juno*: for when he made
pub-

publick the *Circensian Games*, being *Ædil*, he set a young Player of extraordinary beauty to watch in the Temple of *Jupiter*: which Fact being call'd to mind after some years, was expiated with Sacrifices.

17. *Hercules* also is reported to have very severely revenged the abuse of his Worship: for when the Family of the *Potitii* had intrusted his Ceremonies, the Ministry whereof belonged to them as it were by inheritance, to be performed by servants and persons of mean degree, of which *Appius* the Censor was the occasion; all the flower of the Family, who were above thirty young men, di'd within the space of one year; and the Name of the *Potitii*, that was branch'd into twelve Families, was almost extinct; *Appius* also the Censor was stricken blinde.

18. A sharp Revenger also was *Apollo*, of an injury done to himself, who at the Sack of *Carthage* being spoil'd of his Robe of Gold, never ceas'd till the hands of the sacrilegious Souldier were found cut off among the broken pieces of his Image. *Brennus*, Captain of the *Gauls*, entering into the Temple of *Delphos*, by Destiny was compelled to lay violent hands upon himself.

19. Nor was his Son *Æsculapius* a less violent Revenger of contemned Religion, who not enduring to behold a Wood consecrated to his Temple cut down by *Turullius* to build Ships for the use of *M. Antonie*, by a strange power so ordered it, that *Turullius* was by the command of *Cesar*, being judged to death while he was in the midtt of his businets, executed in the very Wood: And so the God ordain'd it, that being there remarkably slain by *Cesar's* Souldiers, that with the same death he expiated the loss of those Trees that were cut down, and secured the safety of those that were standing.

20. Nor did *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* go unpunished,
who

who in his Censorship translated the Marble Tiles from the Temple of *Lacinian Juno* to the Fane of *Fortuna Equestris*, which he was then building at *Rome*: for he no sooner had done it, but he fell mad, and for very grief expired, hearing that of his two Sons, both Souldiers in *Illyria*, one of them was dead, the other slain; by whose mishap the Senate being warned, ordered the Tiles to be carried back to *Locri*.

21. Much after the same manner did they punish the covetousness of *Q. Pliminius*, Legate to *Scipio*, in robbing the Treasure of *Proserpina*: for when he was brought in Fetters to *Rome*, before he could come to his Tryal, he died in Prison of a most filthy Disease. The Goddess, by command of the Senate, had not onely her Money restored, but double the sum.

*Forraign Examples of Religion, observed
or neglected.*

1. As to the Fact of *Fleminius*, it was well punish'd by the Conscript Fathers. But against the sordid Violencies of King *Pyrrhus*, the Goddess her self defended her self well enough: for the *Locri* being compelled to give him money out of her Treasury, while he was sailing upon the Sea laden with his impious Prey, by force of a mighty Tempest his whole Navy was cast away upon the shoar adjoyning to the said City; where the money being found entire, was restored to the most sacred Treasury of the Goddess.

2. But the Act of *Massanisa* was of another nature, whose Admiral having landed in *Melita*, and taken out of the Fane of *Juno* certain Ivory-teeth of an immense proportion, and given them as a Present to the King; *Massanisa* no sooner understood from whence they came, but he commanded them to be carried back in a Galley with five Oars, and put in the place whence

whence they were taken, having caus'd certain Words to be carved upon them, signifying that the King had taken them ignorantly, and willingly restored them.

3. *Dionysius*, born at *Syracuse*, us'd to make Jest's of his Sacriledges, of which he committed more than we have now room to recount: for having plundered the Temple of *Juno* at *Locri*, and sailing upon the Sea with a prosperous gale, laughing to his friends, he said, *What a pleasant Voyage have the Gods granted to us Sacrilegious Robbers!* Having taken also a Cloak of Massie gold from *Jupiter Olympian*, which *Hiero* the Tyrant had dedicated to him out of the spoils of the *Carthaginians*; and throwing over the Statue a Woollen-mantle, told his Companions, *That a Cloak of Gold was too heavy in the Summer, too cold in the Winter; but a Woollen Cloak would serve for both Seasons.* The same person commanded the Golden beard of *Esculapius* to be taken from his Statue in his Temple at *Epidaurum*, saying, *It was not convenient for Apollo the Father to be without a Beard, and the Son to have so large a one.* He also took away the Silver and Golden Tables out of other Temples, where finding certain Inscriptions, after the manner of Greece, that they belonged to the good Gods, then said he, *Through their goodness we will make use of them.* He also took away the little Statues of Victory, Cups and Crowns which they held in their hands being all of Gold, saying, *He did but borrow them, not take um quite away:* saying, *It was an idle thing, when we pray to the Gods for good things, not to accept um when they hold um forth to us.* Who in his own person though he were not rewarded according to his deserts, yet in the infancy of his Son, he suffered after death what in his life-time he had escaped.

4. For the avoiding whereof, *Timasitheus* Prince of the *Liparitans* by his wisdom provided for his own and

and his Countries safety : for when certain of his Subjects, using Piracy, had taken a Golden cup of a very great weight, and that the people were gathered together to divide the spoil, understanding that it was consecrated to *Apollo Pysbian* in lieu of their Tenth's by the *Romans*, he took it from them, and carefully sent it to *Delphos*.

5. *Milisian Ceres*, when *Miletum* was taken by *Alexander*, and that several Souldiers were broken into the Temple to plunder it, on a sudden depriv'd them all of their sight.

6. The *Persians* coming to *Delos* with a Navy of a thousand Ships, behaved themselves more irreligiously than rapaciously toward the Temple.

7. The *Athenians* banish'd *Diagoras* the Philosopher, because he adventured to affirm that he knew not whether there were any Gods or no ; or if there were any, of what nature they were. They also condemned *Socrates*, because he endeavoured to introduce a new Religion. They endured *Phidias* when he affirmed that it was better to make the Statue of *Minerva* of Marble rather than of Ivory, by reason it was more lasting ; but when he added, that it was also cheaper, they commanded him silence.

8. *Diomedon*, one of the ten Captains who at *Arginusæ* won a great Victory to the *Athenians*, but to himself the reward of Condemnation ; being now led to his undeserved Execution, spake nothing else, but onely that the Vows which he had made for the safety of the Army might be performed.

C H A P. II.

Of Feigned Religion.

R O M A N S.

1. *Numa Pompilius.*
2. *P. Scip. African the greater.*
3. *L. Cor. Sulla.*
4. *Q. Sertorius.*

F O R R A I G N E R S.

1. *Minos King of Crete.*
2. *Pisistratus, Athenian.*
3. *Lycurgus, Spartan.*
4. *Zaleucus of Locri.*

1. **N**uma Pompilius, that he might oblige his people to the observance of Holy things, feigned to have familiarity by night with the Goddess *Egeria*; and that by her direction onely, the Worship of the Gods which he propos'd was instituted.

2. *Scipio*, surnamed the *African*, never went about any private or publick business, till he had been for some while in the Fane of *Jupiter Capitoline*; and was therefore thought to have been begot by *Jove*.

3. *Lucius Sulla*, when he resolved to give Battel, embracing a little Image of *Apollo*, which was taken out of the Temple of *Delphos*, in the sight of all his Souldiers, desired the Deity to bring to pass what he had promised.

4. *Q. Sertorius* had a tame white Hart, which he taught to follow him over all the cragged Mountains of *Lusitania*, by which he feigned himself instructed what to do, or what not.

F O R R A I G N.

1. *Minos King of Crete* was wont to retire himself

self every ninth year into a deep and antiently-consecrated Den; and there staying some time, brought forth new Laws, which he there feigned were delivered to him by *Jupiter*.

2. *Pisistratus*, to recover the Tyranny of *Athens*, which he had lost, made as if *Minerva* her self had led him into the Castle; deceiving the *Athenians* by shewing an unknown woman who was called *Phya*, in the habit of *Minerva*.

3. *Lycurgus* perswaded the people that the Laws which he compos'd for the grave City of *Lacedæmon*, were made by the counsel of *Apollo*.

4. *Zaleucus*, in the name of *Minerva*, was accounted the wisest man among the *Locrians*.

CHAP. III.

Of Forraign Religion rejected.

1. By the Roman people. 3. *Lucius Emilius Paulus*,
2. *P. Cornelius the Pretor*.

THE new Custom which was introduced among the Feasts of *Bacchus*, when it grew to Madness, was quite taken away. *Lutatius*, who finished the first *Punick War*, was forbid by the Senate to go to *Pythia*, to consult Fortune; judging it meet that the Affairs of the Commonwealth should be governed by their own national Omens, and not those of Forraign Countries.

2. *C. Cornelius Hissalus*, a forraign Pretor, in the time that *Popilius Lenas* and *M. Calpurnius* were Consuls, by Edict commanded the *Caldeans* to depart from *Italy*, who by their trivial tricks, and false in-

ter-

terpretations of the Stars, cast a gainful Mist before their eyes.

3. The same person banished those who with a counterfeit worship of *Jupiter Sabazius* sought to corrupt the Roman Customs.

Lucius Emilius Paulus the Consul, when the Senate had decreed that the Temples of *Isis* and *Serapis* should be destroyed, and that none of the Workmen durst lay hands upon the Work, laying his Consular habit aside, and taking a Hatchet, was the first that broke open the Gates.

CHAP. IV.

Of Luckie Signes.

Which the ROMANS 4. *Lucius Metellus High-priest.*

5. *M. Tullius Cicero.*

1. *Atius Navus the Augur.* 6. *M. Junius Brutus Pro-*

2. *T. Gracchus, Son of Ti-* *consul.*
tus Tribune.

FORRAIGN.

3. *P. Claudius Pulcher, and* 1. *Alexander the Great.*

L. Jun. Pullus. Consul. 2. *King Dejotarus.*

1. **L***ucius Tarquinius* the King having a minde to adde other Troops of Horse to the Troops which *Romulus* had fortunately enroll'd, being oppoed by the Augur, in a great fury asked him, *If that which he thought of might be done?* Who answering, *That it might,* the King commanded him to cleave a Whet-stone with a Razor, which was no sooner brought, but *Atius* by an incredible act, made the King admire the Effect of his Profession.

2. *Titus Gracchus* designing Tumult and Sedition, sought for Lucky Signes at home; which tell out very sad, and contrary to his Expectation: for as he was going out of doors, he stumbled in such sort, that he broke one of his Toes. Then three Crows cawing on the wrong side, let fall a piece of a Tile just before him: But he, contemning all these Signes, and being expelled the Capitol by *Scipio Nasica* the High-priest, was knock'd on the head with a piece of Chair of State.

3. *P. Claudius*, in the first *Punick* War, being ready to joyn Battel, yet being willing to know the Signes after the old Custome, when he that kept the Birds told him that the Chickens would not come out of the Penns, commanded them to be cast into the Sea, saying, *If they will not eat, let um drink*; together with *Junius* his Colleague, lost the *Roman* Navy for neglecting the Lucky Signes: Of which two, one fell by the Sentence of the People, the other prevented the ignominy of Condemnation by killing himself.

4. *Metellus* the High-priest travelling for *Tusculanum*, two Crows flew directly toward his face, as if they went to stop his journey, yet hardly prevail'd with him to return. The next night the Temple of *Vesta* was burnt, and *Metellus* sav'd the *Palladium* out of the fire.

5. *M. Cicero* had his death foretold by an unlucky Signe: for being at the Village of *Cajeta*, a Crow strook off the Gnomon of a Sun-dial before his face, and by and by flying toward him, held him by the hem of his Garment, till his Servants came and told him that certain Souldiers were come to kill him.

6. *M. Brutus* having rallied the remains of his Army against *Cæsar* and *Antonius*, two Eagles flew, one from one Camp, and the other from the other, and encountring one another, the Eagle which came out of *Brutus* Camp being worsted, fled. C FOR=

FORRAIGN.

1. *Alexander* being about to build a City in *Egypt*, *Diocrates* the Architect for want of Chalk laid out the streets with Meal: By and by a vast number of Birds from the next Lake, devoured the Meal; of which the *Egyptian* Priests made this Interpretation, *That that City should in time afford great store of Provision to Strangers.*

2. King *Dejotarus*, who was very prosperous in his Actions, was preserv'd by the sight of an Eagle: for seeing the place whence she came out, he would by no means go in there; and the house fell the next night equal with the ground.

CHAP. V.

Of Omens.

Which the ROMANS took.

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| 1. <i>The Fathers Conscrip.</i> | 6. <i>Cn. Pompeius Pro-Consul.</i> |
| 2. <i>M. Furius Camillus Dictator.</i> | 7. <i>M. Brutus Pro-Consul.</i> |
| 3. <i>L. Æmilius Paulus Consul.</i> | 8. <i>C. Cassius Pro-Consul.</i> |
| 4. <i>Cæcilia Metelli.</i> | 9. <i>Q. Petillius Consul.</i> |
| 5. <i>C. Marius in Exile.</i> | |

FORRAIGN.

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| 1. <i>The Prieniens.</i> |
| 2. <i>Apolloniates.</i> |

THe observation of Omens is founded upon a certain touch of Religion, as depending not upon any fortuitous Chance, but upon Divine Providence.

1. Where-

1. Whereby it came to pass, that when the City was destroyed by the *Gauls*, and the Senate was consulting whether they should remove to *Veii*, or rebuild their own Walls, some Cohorts returning from Garrison, a Centurion crying out in the place for publick Assemblies to his Eagle-bearer, *Fix your Ensigne, we'll stay here in good time*: the Senate hearing his voice, took it for a good Omen, and left off their designe of going for *Veii*. In how few words was the Domicil of the future Empire of the World designed? The Gods disdaining that the *Roman* Name sprung from happy Omens, should change its Seat, or that the glory of Victory it self should lie buried in the Ruines of a City already neer decay'd.

2. The Author of this most famous Work, *Camilus*, while he was praying, that if the happiness of the people of *Rome* seemed to any of the Gods to be too great, that they would satisfie their Envy by any mischief done to himself, at the end of his Prayer suddenly stumbling fell down; which Omen is thought to have related to the Condemnation which he afterwards underwent. But deservedly did Victory and the Prayers of this great man strive together for praise: nor was the strife of his Vertue less, that he increased the good fortune of his Country, wishing all its evil fortune might fall upon his own head.

3. How memorable was that which befel *L. Paulus* the Consul! who being by lot designed to make War with *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, in his return to his house met his youngest Daughter at the door, and observing her to look something sad, kiss'd her, and demanded the cause of her discontent; who answered, That *Persa* was dead: that was the name of a little Dog which she highly esteemed, which di'd a little before. *Paulus* laid hold of the Omen, and upon a fortuitous saying, built the hopes of his future Triumphs.

4. But *Cecilia* the Wife of *Metellus*, when her Sisters Daughter required, after the antient custom, those Nuptial-Rites due to a Virgin of ripe years, gave occasion to the Omen herself: for the Virgin having staid in a certain Chappel for that purpose, and hearing no body speak to her minde, wearied with long standing, she desired of her Aunt to let her have some place to sit down; to whom her Aunt reply'd, *I freely give thee my Seat*: Which saying proceeding out of kindness, prov'd ominous in the Event; for not long after *Cecilia* dying, *Metellus* married the Virgin of whom we speak.

5. The observation of Omens was certainly the preservation of *Caius Marius*, at what time he was adjudged an Enemy by the Senate, lying at the house of one *Fannia* at *Minturnæ* for his security: For he observed an Ass-colt when he gave him Meat, that neglecting that, he ran still to the water. At which sight thinking that what was now offered by the Providence of the Gods, was to be followed, being himself otherwise very skillful in Religious Interpretations, he desired of the Multitude that came to his aid, that he might be conducted to the Sea: and so getting aboard a little Ship, he sailed into *Africk*, and so avoided the Victorious Arms of *Sylla*.

6. *Pompey* the Great at the Battel of *Pharsalia* being overthrown by *Cæsar*, and seeking to save himself by flight, directed his Course to the Island of *Cyprus*, to gather more Forces there; and approaching the City of *Paphos*, and viewing a stately Edifice, he asked the Pilot the name of it; who answering, That it was called *Kings Evil*, presently lost all that little hope which he had remaining: nor could he dissemble it; turning his head another way, and weeping, betray'd the grief which he conceived from so dire an Omen.

7. To *M. Brutus* an Event befitting the Murderer which

which he had committed, was designed him by an Omen : For after that wicked deed, as he was celebrating his Birth-day, and studying for some convenient Greek Verse, by accident he pitched upon one in *Hom.*

Me cruel Fate and Son of fair Latona flew.

Which God being by *Cesar* and *Antonius* given for the Signe, seemed as it were to be the occasion of his overthrow.

8. With such a strange Ejaculation, the Fortune of *Cassius* amazed his ears, who when the *Rhodians* begg'd of him that they might not be deprived of all the Images of the Gods, made answer, That he had left the Sun : for having lost the Field in *Macedon*, he was not onely forced to leave the Effigies of the Sun, which he had granted them as suppliants, but also the Sun it self.

9. Worthy of remark is that Omen under which *Perillus* fell in the *Ligurian War* : for being to assail a Mountain that was called *Letho*, he boasted in his Exhortation to his Souldiers, saying, *This day I will take Lethum or Hell* : And fighting inconsiderately, confirmed by his death the truth of his fortuitous Speech.

FORRAIGN.

1. To our own, we may adde two Forraign Examples of the same nature. The *Samians* when the *Priennenses* sent to them for aid against the *Carians*, instead of Ships and Men, puffed with Arrogance, sent them a little Skiff; which the *Samians* interpreting as an Aid sent from Heaven, willingly received, and by a true Prediction of the Fates, found her to be the Captain of the Victory.

2. Nor did the *Apollonians* repent; for being press'd by the *Ilyrian War*, and craving aid of the *Epidamnians*, they answered, *That they would lend the River Æas, running by the Walls, to their assistance.* They replied, *We accept your Gift:* and so gave the River the first place in the Army, as to their Captain. After which having unexpectedly vanquish'd their Enemies, attributing the success to the accepting the Omen, thenceforward they sacrificed to *Æas* as a God, and made him their Captain in all their Battels.

CHAP. VI.

Of Prodigies.

Which fell out among 9. M. Claudius Marcellus
the ROMANS. Consul.

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| 1. To Servius Tullius. | 10. Cn. Octavius. |
| 2. Lucius Marcius Centurion. | 11. M. Licinius Crassus, Pro-Consul. |
| 3. People of Rome and Veientines. | 12. Cn. Pompey the Great. |
| 4. L. Sulla Pro-Consul. | 13. Julius Cæsar Dictator. |

FORRAIGN:

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|---|--------------------------------------|
| 5. The people of Rome at <i>Diogenes's</i> times. | 1. Xerxes King of Persia. |
| 6. C. Flaminius Consul. | 2. Midas King of Phrygia, an Infant. |
| 7. C. Hostilius Mancinus. | 3. Plato the Philosopher, an Infant. |
| 8. T. Gracchus Pro-Consul. | |

OF Prodigies also, whether prosperous or unlucky, it is no way from our purpose to discourse.

1. While *Servius Tullius* was an Infant and asleep, his Attendants beheld a flame upon his head; which Prodigy *Tanaquil* the Wife of *Tarquinius Priscus* admiring,

iniring, she brought up *Servius*, who was the Son of a Servant, instead of her own Son, and advanced him to the Throne.

2. Equal happiness in Event did that flame promise which blaz'd upon the head of *Lucius Marcins*, Captain of the two Armies, which the deaths of *P.* and *Cn. Scipio's* had much weakned in *Spain*, while he was speaking to his Souldiers: for upon the sight of that, the Souldiers before fearful, now encouraged to recover their wonted Fortitude, with the slaughter of 38000 men, and a great number of Prisoners, they took two Camps of the *Carthaginians* crammed with Spoil.

3. Also when after a long and sharp War the *Veii* could not be taken, though besieg'd within their own Walls, and that the delay was no less terrible to the besiegers than the besieged, the Gods themselves open'd the way to an unexpected Victory: for on a sudden the Lake *Albanus*, neither augmented by any showers, nor assisted by the inundation of any other Stream, rose far above its usual hight. To know the reason whereof, Messengers were sent to the Oracle at *Delphos*, who brought for answer, *That they should let the waters that over-swelled the Lake into the Fields: For so the Veii would come into the power of the Romans.* Which before the Messengers could bring back, a Southsayer of the *Veii*, taken by one of our Souldiers and brought into the Camp, had also declared; so that the Senate doubly admonished, both obey'd the Gods, and got possession of the City.

4. Nor was this which follows an Omen of bad success: *Lucius Sulla* Pro-Consul in the Confederate War, while he was sacrificing before the *Pretorium* in the Country of *Nolas*, on a sudden beheld a Snake glide from the lower part of the Altar; at the sight whereof, by the advice of *Posthumus* the Southsayer, he led forth his Army, and

got the strong Camp of the *Samnites* : which Victory was the first foundation and step to his future greatness.

5. Chiefly to be admired are those Prodigies which hapned in our City, *P. Volumnius* and *Ser. Sulpicius* being Consuls. An Ox his Lowing being chang'd into Humane Speech, exercised the minds of all people with the strangeness of the Accident. Little pieces of Fish also fell like showers of Rain from the Sky, of which a great part was devoured by the Birds; the rest lay many days upon the ground, neither offensive to the smell, nor irksome to the sight.

At the beginning of another Tumult, Monsters of the same nature were to be seen. A Childe not half a year old in the Cow-market, proclaimed a Triumph. Another Childe was born with an Elephants head.

In *Ficenum* it rain'd Stones. In *Gaul* a Wooll came and took a Sword out of the Centinels Scabbard. Bloody Ears of Corn dropt among the Sheaves, as men were reaping near *Antium*. The Waters of *Cerite* were mix'd with Blood. And before the second *Panick* War, an Ox was heard to speak, **Look to thy self, O Rome.*

6. *Caius Flaminius* being inauspiciously made Consul, when he was preparing to fight with *Hannibal* at the Lake of *Thrasymene*, commanded the Ensignes to be taken up, when immediately his Horse stumbling, he was thrown to the ground and pitched upon his head: and nothing regarding this Prodigy, when the Ensigne-bearers told him they could not stir the Ensigns, threatened to punish um if they did not dig um

But of this rashness of his, would onely he self, and not the whole people of *Rome* had felt the usefull success: for in that Battel 15000 *Romans* slain, 6000 taken, and 20000 put to flight. The self body of the Consul, *Hannibal* sought for, to have

have buried it, who had done what in him lay to bury the *Roman Empire*.

7. The headlong obstinacy of *Caius Flaminius*, *C. Hostilius Mancinus* followed with a vain obstinacy, to whom these Predigies hapned as he was going Consul for *Spain*. Being resolv'd to sacrifice at *Lavinium*, the Pullets being let out of the Bin, flew to the neighbouring Wood, and though sought for with all diligence imaginable, could never be found : And when he was about to go abroad in the Port of *Hercules*, whither he went afoot, he heard a strange Voice, crying, *Stay*, Mancinus : With which affrighted, and in his return putting into *Genoa*, and there going aboard a little Boat, a Snake of a prodigious bigness appeared, and suddenly vanished out of sight. Which three Prodigies he equalled with the number of Calamities which befell him ; an unfortunate Battel, a shameful Truce, and a most dismal Surrender.

8. The sad Event of *Gracchus*, a most dangerous Citizen, who being an inconsiderate person, and being forewarn'd, would take no advice or counsel, makes his rashness less to be wondered at : For when being Pro-Consul, he was sacrificing among the *Lucans*, two Snakes on a sudden creeping out of some hidden place, having eaten the Liver of the Beast which he had sacrificed, retir'd to their lurking holes. And whereas by reason of this accident the Sacrifice was renew'd, the same Prodigy happen'd again. The third Sacrifice being slain, and the Entrails more diligently lookt to, neither could the Serpents be driven away when they came, nor be hinder'd in their flight ; which though as the Southsayers affirm'd, it signified that the General was to be careful of his own safety, yet was not *Gracchus* so careful, but that by the treachery of *Flavius*, at whose house he lay, he was drawn to a place where *Mago* hid himself with an armed power, who slew him naked and without defence.

9. The misfortune of the Consuls, equal Errour, and an end not differing from that of *Titus Gracchus*, draws me to the memory of *Marcellus*. He inflam'd with the glory of having taken *Syracuse*, and first of any driven *Hannibal* from the Walls of *Nola*, having resolv'd either to overthrow the *Carthaginians*, or at least to drive um out of *Italy*; and to that end purposing with a most solemn Sacrifice to inquire into the will and pleasure of the Gods; The first Beast that was slain before the fire, the Liver was found without a head; the next had a Liver with a double head: which being view'd, the Southsayer with a sad countenance said, *That the Entrails did not please him*: the first were altogether bad, the second were not so good. Thus *Marcellus* being admonish'd not to do any thing rashly, the next night adventuring to go out with a few men to view the Enemies Camp, environ'd by a multitude of his Enemies in the Country of the *Bruttii*, by his death occasion'd much sorrow and detriment to his Country.

10. As for *Octavius* the Consul, as he feared a most direful Omen, so he could not avoid it; for finding the head of the Image of *Apollo* broken, and so pitch'd in the ground that it could not be pull'd up, being at that time in Arms against his Colleague *Cinna*, he from thence prognosticated his own ruine; in the midst of which fear he came to a sad end, and then the fix'd head of the Image was easily set in its place.

11. Nor must we pass over in silence *Marcus Crassus*, who is to be reckon'd one of the greatest losses of our Empire, who was warn'd by many and most remarkable blows of Fate, before so great a ruine.

As he was drawing his Army out of *Carre* against the *Parthians*, he had a mourning Garment brought him; whereas they should have brought him either a white or a purple Robe, when he was going to battle.

The

The Souldiers march'd sad and silent to their places, whereas they were wont to run with loud acclamations : One of the Eagles could scarcely be pull'd up out of the ground ; the other being pull'd up, turn'd it self the quite contrary way to which it ought to have been carried. These Prodigies were very great, but the Calamities of the overthrow were far greater ; the slaughter of so many fair Legions, so many Ensignes, so much of the glory and beauty of the *Roman* Militia trodden to the ground by the Horse-men of the *Barbarians* , hopeful Young men besprinkled with the bloud of their Parents, and the body of their Commander among the promiscuous heaps of the Slain, thrown a common Prey to the Fowls of the air. I wish I could speak what were more delightful ; I relate the truth. Thus the Gods contemn'd, become furious in their Anger ; thus the Counsels of men are chastized, when they think to outbrave Celestial Admonishments.

12. For the mighty *Jove* had abundantly warn'd *Cn. Pompey*, that he should not try the utmost hazard of War with *Cesar*, casting his Lightning full in the faces of his Battalions marching from *Dyrachium*, covering his Ensigns with swarms of Bees, affrighting his whole Army with Nocturnal Terrours, and the flight of the Sacrifices from the Altars : But the Laws of invincible necessity would not suffer a mind, otherwise remote enough from folly, to weigh those Prodigies with a due consideration. And therefore while he extols his large Power, his Wealth above private use, and all those Ornaments which from his Youth he had contracted even to Envy, in the space of one day he lost umall. In the Temples of the Gods, the Statues turn'd of themselves. Such a noise of men shouting, such clattering of Arms, was heard at *Antiochia* and *Ptolemais*, that the Souldiers ran to the Walls :
Such

Such a noise of Drums in the most secret places of *Pergamus*: in the Temple of Victory a Palm suddenly sprang up under the Statue of *Cæsar*, in the Pavement between the Stones. Whereby it is plain that the Gods did favour *Cæsar*, and fain would have recover'd *Pompey* out of his Errour.

13. To thy Altars and most Holy Temples I address my self, most Divine *Julius*, that thou would'st favourably suffer the falls of so many great men to lie hid under the defence and tuition of thy Example: for we read that thou, the same day thou sat'st in the Golden Seat clothed with Purple, that thou might'st not seem to have despised the honours which the Senate had with so much diligence designed, and with so much duty offered, before thou would'st publickly shew thy wish'd-for presence to the people, didst spend some time in that religious worship which was shortly to be given to thee; and offering a fat Ox which wanted a heart, the Southsayer told thee, the Omen concern'd thy life, and care of thy own preservation: Then was that Marther committed by those persons, who while they sought to ravish thee from the number of Men, translated thee to the number of the Gods.

FORRAIGN.

Let us conclude the Domestick Relation of such Prodigies with this Example, lest by dilating farther upon those of the *Romans*, I should seem to transfer disagreeing Customs from the Temples of the Gods to private Habitations: I shall therefore touch upon Forraign Prefidents, which being related in Latine, as they are of less authority, yet they bring with them something of a grateful variety.

1. In the Army of *Xerxes* which he had amassed up against *Greece*, a Mare is said to have brought forth a
Hare

Hare, before the Army had yet pass'd the Mountain *Athos* : by which kind of monstrous birth, the event of such vast preparations was plainly shewed : For he that had covered the Sea with his Fleets, the Land with his Armies, was forc'd, like the most timorous Animal, with shameful flight to recover his own Kingdom.

Before he had ruin'd *Athens*, while he was advising how to invade *Lacedæmon*, a most wonderful Prodigy hapned while he was at supper : For the Wine being poured forth into the Cup, more than once, twice, or thrice, nay a fourth time, was changed into Blood. Whereupon the *Magi* being consulted, advised him to desist from his purpose. And had he had the least footing of Reason in his vain breast, he might have prevented his ruine, being so often warn'd to take heed of *Leonidas* and the *Spartans*.

2. While *Midas*, to whose Scepter all *Pbrygia* once was subject, was a child, a company of Ants laid a heap of Wheat in his mouth as he lay asleep. His Parents desiring to know what the meaning of the Prodigy should be, the Augurs answered, That he should be the richest of all men : Nor was the Prediction vain; for *Midas* exceeded all the Princes of his time, in plenty of Gold and Silver.

3. I should have by right and deservedly preferr'd *Plato's* Bees before *Midas's* Emmets; for they were onely Prognostications of frail and fading, these of solid and eternal Felicity; while they brought Honey and laid it upon the lips of the little Infant, sleeping in his Cradle. Which thing being reported, the Interpreters of Prodigies declared, *That a most singular grace of Utterance should hereafter drop from his mouth.* But to me those Bees, not bred upon *Hymettus* cover'd with fragrant flowers of *Thyme*, but on the verdant *Heliconian* Hills of the Muses, flourishing with all sorts of learning, seem'd to distil into his mouth the sweetest nourishment of Eloquence.

CHAP. VII.

Of Dreams.

Of the ROMANS.

1. Artorius Physician to Augustus.
2. Calpurnia.
3. P. Decii, T. Manlii Consul.
4. Of T. Atinius.
5. Cicero in Exile.
6. C. Sempronius Gracchus.
7. Cassius Parmensis.
8. Arterius Rufus a Roman Knight.

FORRAIGN.

1. Annibal.
2. Alexander.
3. Simonides.
4. Cræsus.
5. Cyrus.
6. Himera.
7. The Mother of Dion. Tyrant.
8. Amilcar.
9. Alcibiades.
10. An Arcadian.

NOW because I have touched upon the Riches of *Midæ*, and the Eloquence of *Plato*, I will shew you how the quiet and safety of many men has been shadowed out under several representations.

1. And where shall I sooner begin, than from the most sacred memory of Divine *Augustus*? His Phylician *Artorius* being asleep, the night before the day wherein the *Romans* fought one against the other in the fields of *Philippi*, the appearance of *Minerva* admonish'd him to warn *Augustus*, then lying very ill, that notwithstanding his sickness he should not abstain from the Battel: Which *Cæsar* hearing, caus'd himself to be carried in a Litter into the Field, where, while he laboured above his strength for the Victory, his Camp was taken by *Brutus*. What other can we think then,

but

but the Divine Benevolence so ordain'd it, that a personage destined to immortality, should not be subject to a Fate unworthy his Divinity?

2. Nor was it only the Dream of *Artorius* that gave warning to *Augustus*, who had a natural perspicacity and vigour to judge of every thing, as a fresh and domestick President: For he had heard that *Calpurnia* the Wife of his Parent *Julius*, the last night that he lived upon earth, dream'd that she saw her Husband lie stabbed and bleeding in her bosom; and being affrighted with the strangeness of the Dream, was an earnest suiter to him to abstain from going to the Senate the next day: but he, lest he should have been thought to have been mov'd with a womans dream, went the rather to the Senate-house, where the Murderers quickly laid violent hands upon him. It is not needful to make any comparison between the Father and the Son, both equal in their Divinity: for the one had made way for himself to Heaven by his own works, the other was to let the world enjoy his Vertues a long time. Therefore the Gods were only willing that the first should know the approaching change, which the other was to defer; it being enough that one Honour should be given to Heaven, and another promised.

3. Admirable also was that Dream, and famous in the Event, which the two Consuls *Decius Mus*, and *Manlius Torquatus* dream'd, when they lay incamped not far from the foot of the Mountain *Vesuvius*, at the time of the *Latin War*, which was very sharp and dangerous: For a certain person foretold to both of them, that the *Manes* and *Terra Mater* claim'd as their due the General of one side, and the whole Army on the other: But that which Captain soever should assail the forces of the Enemy, and devote himself a Victim for the good of his Army, should obtain the Victory.

This

This the Entrails of the Sacrifices confirmed the next morning to both Consuls, who endeavoured either to expiate the misfortune, if it might be averted, or else resolv'd to undergo the determination of the Gods. Therefore they agreed, that which Wing should begin to faint, the other should with his own life appease the Fates; which while both undauntedly ventured to perform, *Decius* hapned to be the person whom the Gods required.

4. The Dream which follows, seems to concern publick Religion. A certain Master of a Family having caused his Servant to be whipped, and brought him to the punishment of the Fork in the *Flaminian Circus*, at the time of the *Plebeian Plays*, a little before the Show was about to begin, *Jupiter*, in a Dream, commanded *Titus Atinius*, one of the Vulgar, to tell the Consuls, *That he that had danc'd before the last Circensian Games, did no way please him; and that unless the fault were expiated by an exact restoration of the Plays, there would ensue not a little vexation and trouble to the City.* He fearing to involve the Commonwealth by Religion to his own disadvantage, held his peace. Immediately his Son, taken with a sudden fit of sickness, died. Afterwards being asked by the same God in his sleep, *Whether he thought himself punished enough for the neglect of his Command?* yet remaining obstinate, was stricken with a general weakness of body: At length, by the advice of his friends, being carried in a Horse-litter to the Consuls Tribunal, having fully declared the cause of his misfortunes, to the admiration of all men recovering his former strength, he walked afoot to his house.

5. Nor must we pass over in silence, that when *M. Cicero* was banished the City, by the Conspiracy of his Enemies, He diverting himself in a certain Village in the Country of *Atinate*, and falling asleep in the field,

as he thought himself wandring through strange places and uncouth Regions, he thought he met *C. Marius* in his Consuls Robes, who asked him, *What he made there wandring with so sad a Countenance?* Whereupon *Cicero* making his condition known to him, the Consul took him by the right hand and delivered him to the next Licor, to conduct him to his own Monument, telling him, *That there there was a more joyful hope of his better condition laid up for him.* Nor did it otherwise fall out; for the Senate made a Decree for his return in the Temple of *Jupiter* built by *Marius*.

6. But *C. Gracchus* was most openly and apparently foretold, in a Dream, the mischief of an approaching mischance: for being asleep, he saw the shape of his Brother *Titus*, who told him, *There was no way for him to avoid the same Fate which he had undergone, when he was driven out of the Capitol.* This many related from the mouth of *Gracchus* himself, before he had undertaken the Tribuneship, wherein he peris'd. And one *Celius* a Roman Historian, said, *He had heard much talk thereof while Gracchus was living.*

7. But that which follows, far exceeds the dire Aspect of the foregoing Narration. *Antonius* having lost the Battel of *Alcium*, *Cassius Parmensis*, who had taken his part, fled to *Athens*; where he fell asleep in the night, being tired with care and trouble: He thought there came to him a person of a very great stature, black Complexion, his Beard deformed, and long hanging Hair, who being ask'd what he was, answered, *Cacodemon.* Being affrighted with so horrid a sight, and terrible a name, he called up his Servants, and demanded of them if they saw any one in such a habit, either come in or go out of the Chamber: Who affirming that no such had come there, he again betook himself to his rest; when immediately the same shape appeared to him again; where awaking altogether, he

called for a light, commanding the Servants to depart. But between this night and the loss of his head, which *Cæsar* took from him, there followed a very short space of time.

8. But the Dream of *Aterius Rufus*, a Roman Knight, was more plainly hinted to him: for he dream'd one night, at a time when there was a great Fencing-prize at *Syracuse*, that he saw himself slain; which he told the next day to those that sat by him in the Play-house. It happened afterwards, that near to the Knights place, the Net-player was introduced with the Challenger, whose face when he saw, he said, that he was to be slain by the Net-player; and immediately would have departed. They endeavouring by discourse to put away his fear, were the cause of the destruction of this miserable man. For the Net-player being driven thither by his Antagonist, and cast upon the ground, as he lay along endeavouring to defend himself, he ran *Aterius* thorough the body with his Sword.

FORRAIGN EXAMPLES.

1. The Dream also of *Annibal*, as it was detestable to the Roman blood, so the prediction thereof was certain, whose waking not onely, but his sleeping was fatal to our Empire. He had a Dream appolite to his purpose, and fitted to his wishes: for he fancied a young man of humane shape, taller than ordinary, was sent to him by *Jupiter*, to be his Guide and Conductor in his Invasion of *Italy*; by whose command at first he followed his Foot-steps, without casting his eyes either one way or another: afterwards, out of the eager desire in mortals to do what is forbidden, looking behind him, he saw a Serpent of an immense magnitude destroying all before it: After that he beheld prodigious

ous showers of Hail, with Thunder and dark Clouds. Being astonish'd, he asked, *What that Monster meant?* to which his Conductor, *Behold*, said he, *the waste and devastation of Italy; therefore be silent, and commit the rest to Fate.*

2. How gently was *Alexander* King of *Macedon* warn'd to take more care of his life, had Fortune advised him so well to avoid the danger! for he knew that the right hand of *Cassander* would be mortal to him, long before he felt it by the event: for he believed he should be slain by him, although he had never seen him. After some time, upon sight of him, beholding the resemblance of his nocturnal fear, so soon as he found him to be the Son of *Antipater*, repeating the Greek Verse so much in favour of the credit of dreams, he banish'd from his thoughts all suspicion of the Poyson prepared for him as was publicly believed by *Cassander*.

3. More indulgent were the Gods to the Poet *Simonides*, confirming their admonition by the strength of repeated advice: For he coming ashore and finding a dead body of a man, buried it; whereupon he was by the same body admonish'd, that he should not set sail the next day: which he believing, staid ashore; but those that went to Sea were all cast away. He was not a little glad that he had trusted his life to the security of a Dream, rather than to the mercy of the Sea: And being mindful of the benefit receiv'd, eterniz'd the memory of the person in a living Poem, raising him up a better Sepulchre in the memories of men, than that which he had bestow'd upon him on the shore.

4. Of great Efficacy also was that apparition to *Cræsus* in his sleep, which first occasion'd in him great fear, afterwards greater grief: For it seem'd to him that *Atys*, one of his Sons, the most excellent for

strength of Body, and endowments of Mind, and his design'd Successor, was violently murder'd. Thereupon the Young-man, though he were usually sent to the Wars, was kept at home. He had also an armour stor'd with all sorts of Weapons, and that was remov'd from him. He had Companions that us'd to go armed: They were also forbid to come near him. Yet Necessity gave access to grief. For there being a Wild-Boar, of an incredible bigness, that wasted the till'd fields of Mount *Olympus*, and kill'd several of the Countrey-people, and the Royal aid being implored, the Son extorted from his Father leave, that he might be sent to deliver the people from their Calamity: which he the more readily granted, because the mischief was not threatned from Teeth, but from Iron. But while every one was intent and eager in killing the wild beast, obdurate Destiny persisting in her intended violence, directed a Spear into his Body, which was intended against the Boar, and chose particularly that the right hand of him should be only guilty of the Murder, to whose charge and tuition the Father had chiefly committed his Son: which being contaminated with the blood of Chance-medley, fearing his Country-god, at the prayer of the person, was purify'd by Sacrifice.

5. Neither was *Cyrus* a small argument of The inevitable necessity of Fate; whose Birth, to which the Empire of all *Asia* was promis'd, *Astyages* his Grandfather by the Mothers side sought in vain to hinder, by the predictions of a Dream. He married his Daughter *Mandane*, for that he had dreamt that she had overwhelm'd all the Nations of *Asia* with her Urine, not to one of the Nobles, lest the Right of Dominion might fall to his family, but to one of a small fortune among the *Persians*. When *Cyrus* was born he caus'd him to be expos'd, having dreamt that a Vine growing

ing out of the Secret Parts of *Mandane*, should cover all his Dominions. But he was frustrated in all his endeavours and humane Counsels, not being able to hinder the felicity of his Nephew, which the Gods had so fully determined.

6. While *Dionysius* of *Syracuse* liv'd a private life, *Himera*, a woman of no mean parentage, fancied in her Sleep that she ascended into Heaven, and having there view'd the Seats of all the Gods, that she saw a strong man yellow-hair'd, scurvie countenanced, bound in Iron Chains to the Throne of *Jove*, and lying at his feet: and asking a young man who was her guide the meaning thereof, she was told that he was the ill fate of *Sicily* and *Italy*; and when his chains should be taken off, many Towns would be ruin'd: which Dream she declared the next day. Afterwards seeing *Dionysius*, by the help of Fortune, an enemy to the Liberty of *Syracuse* and the lives of the Innocent, freed from his Celestial Chains, entring the Walls of the *Himeræi*, she cryed out, This was he that she had seen in her Dream. Which being related to *Dionysius*, he caus'd her to be put to Death.

7. Safer was the Dream of the Mother of the same *Dionysius*; who, when she had conceived him, fancied that she was brought to bed of a great Satyr: and consulting the Interpreter of Prodigies, she understood that he should be the greatest and most powerful of all the *Greeks* of his time.

8. But *Amilcar* General of the *Carthaginians*, while he was besieging *Syracuse*, thought that he heard a voice proclaiming to him, that he should Sup the next day in that City. With great joy, as if Victory were promis'd him from Heaven, he prepared his Army for the Assault; at which time dissention arising between the *Carthaginians* and *Sicilians*, the *Syracusans* sallied out, took his Camp, and brought him bound into the

City. Thus deluded by his Hope, not his Dream, he supp'd a Captive in *Syracuse*, not, as he had conceiv'd, a Victor.

9. *Alcibiades* also beheld his lamentable end in a Dream, no way fallacious. For being slain and unburied, he was covered with the same Apparel of his Concubines, which he had seen himself clothed in; in his Sleep.

10. The following Dream, for its manifest certainty, though somewhat longer, craves not to be omitted. Two familiar *Arcadians* travelling together came to *Megara*; one of which went to lye at his Friends house, the other at a common Inne. He that lay at his Friends house dreamt, that he heard his companion intreating his help, for that he was abus'd by the Innkeeper, which he might prevent by his speedy presence. Leaping out of his Bed, he endeavour'd to finde the Inne where his friend lay. But Fate condemning his humane purpose as needless, and believing what he had heard to be but a Dream, he went to Bed again and to sleep. Then the same person came wounded and beseech'd, that since he had neglected to assist him in his life-time, he would not delay to revenge his Death; for that his body slain by the Innkeeper, was carrying out at the Gate in a Cart, cover'd with Dung. His friend, mov'd by his Prayers, made haste to the Gate, and stopt the Cart which was described to him in his sleep, apprehended the Innkeeper, and brought him to condign punishment.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Miracles.

*Among the ROMANS.**FORRAIGN.*

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| 1. Caltor seen in the Latin and Perlian Wars. | 1. Erus Pamphilius reviving after ten daies. |
| 2. Esculapius appearing in the shape of a Serpent. | 2. An Athenian deprived of his Memory. |
| 3. Words spoken by Juno Moneta. | 3. A Woman suddenly struck dumb. |
| 4. Words spoken by female Fortune. | 4. Egles the Samian dumb suddenly, recovering his Speech. |
| 5. Words spoken by a Sylvan in the war of the Veii. | 5. Gordius the Epirote born after the death of his Mother. |
| 6. Mars seen in the Lucan War. | 6. Jason Pheræus cured of an Impostume. |
| 7. Penates returning from Alba to Lavinium of their own accord. | 7. Simonides the Poet escaped the fall of a house. |
| 8. Julius Cæsar seen after his death. | 8. The death of Daphidas the Sophister foretold by the Oracle. |
| 9. The Sepulchre of Pompey miraculously found. | 9. The death of Philip King of Macedon foretold. |
| 10. The Death of Appius Claudius, Pro-Consul, foretold by a Miracle. | 10. The death of Alexander miraculously foretold. |
| 11. The Scepter of Romulus and Statues preserved from fire. | 11. The chance of a Rower. |
| 12. Men brought to their graves revive. | 12. The strange Teeth of King Prusias his Son. |
| | 13. Drypetine daughter to D 4 Mithridates |

- Mithridates born with a double order of Teeth. Antipater the Poet.
 14. The accurate Sight of Strabo Lynceus. 17. The equality of Polystratus and Hippocides in fortune.
 15. The hairy Heart of Aristomedes the Messenian. 18. Miracles of Nature.
 16. The annual Fever of Iulus. 19. The Serpent of Regulus.

MAny Accidents also happen to men awake, and by day, as well as those which are involved in the clouds of darkness and dreams; which because it is hard to understand whence they proceed, or upon what reason grounded, are deservedly called Miracles.

1. Among the great multitude whereof, this first occurs. When *Aulus Posthumius* Dictator and *Manilius Octavius* Captain of the *Tuscans* were in fight with great forces on both sides, at the Lake *Regillus*, and that for some time neither Party gave ground; *Castor* and *Pollux* taking the *Romans* side, overthrew the forces of the Enemy.

Also in the *Macedonian War*, *P. Vatinius* a Magistrate of *Reate* returning toward the City by Night, thought he met two beautiful Men sitting upon white Horses, who told him, that the day before *Perseus* was taken by *Æmilius*. Which when he related to the Senate, he was by them committed to Prison, as a contemner of their Majesty and Power. But afterwards, when they understood by the Letters from *Paulus* that *Perseus* was taken the same day, he was not only delivered out of custody, but honoured with a gift of Land, and vacancy from bearing Office. It was also farther found, that *Castor* and *Pollux* did watch over the safety of the Common-wealth, and travail'd hard for the good of the same, for that they were seen to wash themselves and their horses in the Lake of

Junonia.

Juturna, and their Temple adjoyning to the Fountain open'd of it self, not being unlockt by the hand of any person.

2. But then we may relate how favourable the rest of the Gods were to our City. For when our City was visited with a triennial Pestilence, and that neither through divine Compassion or humane Aid any remedy could be found nor so long and lasting a Calamity; the Priests looking into the *Sibyls* Books observ'd, that there was no other way to restore the City to its former health, but by fetching the Image of *Esculapius* from *Epidaurus*. The City therefore sending their Ambassadors thither, hop'd that by its authority, the greatest then in the world, they might prevail to obtain the only remedy against their fatal misery. Neither did her hope deceive her. For her desire was granted with as much willingness, as it was requested with earnestness. For immediately the *Epidaurians* carrying the Ambassadors to the Temple of *Esculapius* (distant from the City some five miles) desired them to take out of it whatever they thought convenient for the preservation of *Rome*; whose free benignity the god himself imitating by his celestial obedience, approv'd the courtelie of mortals. For that Snake, which but seldom or never seen but to their great benefit, the *Epidaurians* worshipt equal to *Esculapius*, began to glide with a mild aspect and gentle motion through the chief parts of the City, and being three days seen to the religious admiration of all men, without doubt taking in good part the change of a more noble Seat, halted to the *Roman* Galley, and while the Marriners stood affrighted at so unusual a sight, crept aboard the Ship, and peaceably folding its self into several rings, quietly remain'd in the Cabbin of *Q. Ogulnius*, one of the Ambassadors. The Legats having return'd due thanks, and being instructed

fructed by the skilful in the due worship of the Serpent, like men that had obtain'd their hearts desire, joyfully departed, and after a prosperous Voyage putting in at *Antium*, the Snake, which had remained in the Ship, glided to the Porch of the Temple of *Esculapius*, adorn'd with Myrtle and other Boughs, and twisted itself about a Palm-tree of a very great height, staying for three days in the Temple of *Antium*, the Ambassadors with great care setting by those things wherewith he used to be fed, for fear he should be unwilling to return to the Ship: after which he patiently suffer'd himself to be transported to our City. The Ambassadors landing upon the shore of *Tiber*, the Snake swam to the Island where the Temple was dedicated, and by his coming dispell'd the Calamity for remedy whereof he was sought.

3. Not less voluntary was the coming of *Juno* to our City. The *Vientes* being taken by *Furius Camillus*, the Souldiers by command of the General going about to remove the Image of *Juno Moneta*, which was there in principal adoration, endeavour'd to remove it from the place where it stood. Among the rest, one of the Souldiers asked the Goddess in sport, whether she would go to *Rome*; to which the Goddess replying she would, the jest was turn'd into admiration. And now believing that they did not only carry the Image, but *Juno* her self, with great joy they placed her in that part of the *Aventine* Mountain, where now we see her Temple stand.

4. The Image also of the Womens Fortyne, about four miles from the City upon the *Latine* Road, consecrated together with her Temple, at the same time that *Coriolanus* was diverted from the destruction of the City by his Mothers tears, was heard, not once, but twice to speak these words: *In due manner have you seen me, Matrons, and in due manner dedicated me.*

But

5. But *Valerius Publicola* Consul, after the expulsion of the Kings, waged War with the *Veientes* and *Hetrurians*, while the one sought to restore *Tarquinius* to his Kingdome, the other sought to retain their new-recover'd Liberty: At which time, while the *Hetrurians* and *Tarquinius* had the upper hand in the Right Wing, there hapned such a sudden Conternation, that not only the Victors began to fly, but also drew the *Veientes*, struck with the same fear, along with them. On a sudden a loud voice was heard from the adjoining *Arſian Wood*, said to be uttered from the mouth of a Sylvan: *But one more of the Hetrurians shall fall: The Roman Host shall obtain the Conquest.* The truth of the Miracle appeared by the number of the dead Bodies told.

6. What say ye to the Assistance of *Mars*, which facilitated the Victory of the *Romans*, is it not worthy of lasting memory? When the *Brutians* and *Lucans* with most inveterate Hatred and great Forces sought the destruction of the City of *Thurinum*, *C. Fabricius Luscinus* Consul on the other side endeavouring with all his might to preserve the same, and that the event of things seemed dubious, the Forces of both sides being met in one place, and the *Romans* not daring to venture battle; a young man of a comely stature began to exhort them to take courage; and finding them not very forward, laying hold of a Ladder, he posted through the middle of the Enemies body to the opposite Camp, and setting up his Ladder scal'd the fortification; and then crying out with a loud voice, that there was a step to Victory rais'd, he drew ours to assail, the *Lucans* and *Brutians* to defend their own Camp, where after a sharp Conflict they were utterly overthrown. For by the impulse of his own Arms, he deliver'd um over to be slain and taken by the *Romans*; Twenty Thousand being slain, Five Thousand

Thousand taken, together with *Statius Statilius* General of both People, and Twenty Military Ensignes. The next day, when the Consul told the Souldiers that he had reserv'd a Crown for him who had shew'd so much Courage in taking the Camp, and no young man was to be found to claim it, it was then known and believed that *Mars* had taken the *Romans* part. And among other demonstrations of the truth of the thing, there was a Head-piece found with two Plumes, which had covered his sacred Head. Therefore by command of *Fabricius* there was a Supplication to *Mars* proclaim'd, and thanks return'd to him with great joy by the Souldiers crown'd with Lawrel, in testimony of the assistance which they had received from him.

7. I shall relate now what being known in that age was faithfully deliver'd to those which succeeded: *Aeneas* bringing his household-gods with him from *Troy*, placed them in *Lavinium*: From thence they were by his Son *Ascanius* remov'd to *Alba*, which himself had built: which lest it should seem a force put upon them by the hands of men, they resolv'd to testify their good Will. Wherein I am not ignorant how opinion hesitates in the asserting the truth of the motion and voice of the Immortal Gods. However, because we do not make a relation of things new, but only repeat what has been deliver'd, let the first Authors vindicate the truth. It is our part not to refuse as vain, what the sacred Monuments of Story have consecrated for certain.

8. Having made mention of that City, from whence our own had its first original, heavenly *Julius* the glorious offspring thereof comes into our mind, whom *C. Cassius* (never to be named without remembering his publick Parricide) while he was labouring courageously at the Battle of *Philippi*, saw above mortal
Stature

Stature, clad in a Purple Robe, and an angry Countenance, making toward him with full speed; at which sight affrighted he fled, having first heard these words utter'd, *What wouldst thou do more, if it be too little to have kill'd? Didst thou not murder Cæsar. O Cassius? But no Deity can be prevail'd against; therefore by injuring him whose mortal body still burns, thou hast deserved to have a god so much thy enemy.*

9. *Lentulus* passing by the shore where the Body of *Pompey* the Great, murdered by the treachery of King *Ptolemy*, was then at the same time burning; altogether ignorant of his fall, cryed out to his Souldiers, *How do we know but that Pompey may be now burning in yonder flame?* The Miracle was, that he should ignorantly speak so great a truth as it were by inspiration.

10. This was only the saying of a man; but that which came from the mouth of *Apollo* himself was more miraculous, a clear evidence of the *Delphick* Presage, which foretold the Death of *Appius*. He in the Civil War wherein *Pompey* had separated himself from his friendship with *Cæsar*, through advice no less baneful to himself than disadvantageous to the Commonwealth, being willing to know the event of so great a Commotion; by his power in command (for he was Governour of *Achaia*) caus'd the chief President of the *Delphick* Oracle to descend into the innermost part of the holy Den, whence as more certain Answers are demanded, so the over-abundance of the divine exhalation becomes more noxious to those that give the Answer. The Virgin therefore through the impulse of the inspiring Spirit, with a most dreadful tone, among other obscure terms and *enigma's*, thus return'd to *Appius*: *The War concerns thee nothing, O Roman: Thou shalt have for thy lot, that part of Eubœa call'd Cœla.* He believing that *Apollo* had forewarned.

warned him to avoid the danger of the War, retired into that Countrey which lies between *Rhamnus* a noble part of the Countrey of *Attica*, and *Caristia* adjoining to the *Chalcidic* Bay, where consum'd with sickness before the battle of *Pharsalia*, he possess'd the place assign'd for his burial.

11. These things may also be accounted as Miracles; that when the Chappel of the *Salii* was burnt, there was nothing escap'd the fire but the Kings staff of *Romulus*. That the Statue of *Servius Tullius* remain'd untouch'd, when the Temple of Fortune was consum'd by fire. That the Statue of *Claudius*, plac'd near the entry into the Temple of the Mother of the Gods, that Temple being twice consum'd by fire once when *Nasica Scipio* and *L. Bestia*, another time when *Servilius* and *Lamia* were Consuls, stood firm upon its Basis and untouch'd.

12. The Funeral Pile of *Acilius Aviola* brought no small astonishment to our City, who being taken for dead both by the Physicians and by his friends, when he had been laid out for some time upon the Ground, the Flame no sooner coming near his Body, but he rose up and affirmed himself to be alive, calling for the assistance of his Schoolmaster, who only remain'd with him. But being encompass'd with the flames, he could not be drawn thence.

13. *Lucius Lamia* also, a person of the Pretorian Order, is said to have spoken upon his funeral Pile.

FORRAIGN Examples:

1. But the fate of *Erus Pamphilus* has render'd the foregoing relations less miraculous; whom *Plato* affirm'd, that after he was thought to have been slain in Battle, and had lain in the field ten days, when he came to be taken away and laid upon the funeral Pile,

he

he revived, and related strange things, which he saw while he lay dead.

2. And since we are come to Forraign Examples, there was a certain learned Man at *Athens*, who having received an unlucky hurt with a Stone upon his Head, though he retain'd his Memory as to all other things very perfect, yet forgot his Learning, which he had follow'd all his life time. A dire and fatal Wound in the Soul of him that was wounded, as if having of purpose sought out every sense, it had pitch'd upon that particularly wherein the Patient most delighted, burying the singular Doctrine and Learning of the person in the perpetual grave of Envy. To whom if it were not lawful to enjoy those Studies, it had been better that he had never obtain'd a taste of them, than to want the sweetness of what he once had in possession.

3. But more lamentable is the narration of the following mischance. For the Wife of *Nausimenes* an *Athenian* hapning to take her Son and Daughter in the act of Incest, struck with horror of so monstrous a sight, became suddenly dumb, so that she neither could express her present Indignation, nor ever after speak a word. They punish'd themselves for their own wicked act, with voluntary Death. Thus Fortune that in a rage took from her her Speech, from them their Lives, was therein favourable to the Mother.

4. *Ægles* a *Samian* Wrestler born mute, when he saw the Rewards of a Victory, which he had won, taken from him, out of indignation for the injury done him, recover'd his Speech.

5. Famous also was the Birth of *Gorgias* an *Epirote*, a very strong man, who coming forth of his Mothers Womb as she was going to be buried, with his crying caus'd them that carried the Beer to stand, affording

a strange Miracle to his Countrey, as one that receiv'd his Birth and being from the Funeral-Pile of his Mother. For at the same moment she in her Death yields to fate, the other is taken into arms alive before he was born.

6. A fortunate Wound was that which a certain person gave to *Pherean Jason*, endeavouring to have slain him. For striking at him with his Sword, he brake an Impostume in that manner, which could neither be broken nor cured by any skill'd in Physick, delivering him from an incurable Disease.

7. Equally belov'd of the immortal Gods was *Simmonides*, who being sav'd from imminent danger, was also preserv'd from after-ruine. For while he was at Supper with *Scopas* at *Cranon* a City of *Thessaly*, news was brought him that two young men were at the door, earnestly desiring to speak with him. When he came to the gate, he found no body there. But at the same moment, the Roof of the Dining-room fell down, and kill'd both *Scopas* and all his Guests: What greater wealth, than so much felicity, which neither the rage of the Sea or Land could take from him?

8. I am not unwilling to adde to this the Story of *Daphidus*, that men may understand how profitable it is to sing the praises of the Gods, and obey the Divine Power. He being of their profession who are call'd *Sophists*, resolving to ask a frivolous question of the Oracle of *Apollo*, in derision demanded, Whether he should finde the Horse he had lost, when in truth he had none at all. To which the Oracle answer'd, That he should finde his Horse, but be kill'd with a fall off his back. Being upon his return, merry and laughing at the trick he had put upon the Oracle, he fell into the hands of *Attalus* the King, whom he had often abus'd with his scurrilous Verses, being out of his reach: And being by his command thrown headlong
down

down a Rock, which was call'd *The Horse*, he receiv'd the just reward due to one that would go about to cavil with the gods.

9. *Philip K. of Macedon* being also admonisht by the same Oracle to have a care of the violence of a Chariot, caus'd all the Chariots in his Kingdom to be cut to pieces, and alwaies carefully shun'd that place in *Boeotia* which is call'd *The Chariot*; and yet he could not avoid that kind of death which was foretold him: for *Pansanias* that slew him, had a Chariot engraven in the Hilt of his Sword.

10. And this fatal Necessity which the Father could not avoid, was as severe to his Son *Alexander*. For *Calanus the Indian* being about to throw himself, of his own accord, upon his Funeral-Pile, being ask'd by him whether he had any thing to command or tell him. made no other reply, but *I shall shortly see thee*. Nor was his answer in vain, for the violent Death of *Alexander* speedily follow'd his violent decease.

11. These Royal Funerals are equal'd in Miracle by the fortune of a Rower in a Galley, who standing at the Pump in a small *Tyrian Vessel*, and by the violence of a Wave thrown out of the same, the force of a contrary Wave wash'd him into the Vessel again: congratulating and bewailing, at one time, his miserable and happy condition.

12. What more? Are we not to believe that there are certain Mockeries of Nature in the Bodies of Men? tolerable indeed, because not horrid; yet no less miraculous, because unusual. The Son of *Prusias King of Bithynia*, bearing the same name with his Father, instead of an upper row of Teeth, had one continued Bone, though neither deformed nor unfit for use.

13. *Dripetine* also the Daughter of *Mithridates*, born of *Laudice the Queen*, having her mouth deformed with a double row of Teeth above and below,

was her Fathers Companion when he fled from *Rome*.
pey.

14. No less admirable were the Eyes of that person, who is reported to have had so sharp a sight, that he was able to discover the Ships going out of the Port of *Carthage*, from the Promontory of *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*.

15. More admirable than his Eyes was the Heart of *Aristomenes* the *Messenian*; which the *Athenians*, by reason of his admirable subtlety causing to be cut out, (for they had often taken him, yet still by his cunning he escaped them) found to be all over hairy.

16. The Poet *Antipater* the *Sidonian*, every year on the very day of his Birth had a Fever; and having lived to a great age, upon his Birth-day died of a Fever.

17. Here we may very conveniently take notice of *Polytratus* and *Hippoclides*, Philosophers, who were born the same day, followed the Precepts of the same Master *Epicurus*, possess'd the same Revenues, went to the same School, and living long Friends together, at length both died the same day. So equal was the fortune and friendship of their Society, that who would not think them born, bred, and deceas'd in the very bosome of divine Concord her self?

18. Why all this should come to pass, either to the Children of Kings, or to a most famous King himself, to a Prophet of a flourishing Wit, or be so remarkable in the Lives of Learned Men, or among the Vulgar sort, Nature it self, so fruitful in good or evil, hath never given a reason. No more than why among the wild Goats, which are bred in *Crete*, being wounded with darts, should fly for present help to the Herb *Dittany*, which being eaten immediately forceth the Dart and Poyson out of their Wounds. Or how it comes to pass that in the Island of *Cephalenia*, whereas all other beasts in other places are refresh'd with drink-
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ing water, in that place they are wont to quench their thirsts by receiving the wind into their mouths. Or why at *Crotona*, in the Temple of *Lacinian Juno*, the ashes should remain undisturb'd; and not to be remov'd, what Wind soever blow. Or why one Fountain in *Macedonia*, another in the Countrey of *Calenum*, should have so much the property of Wine, as to intoxicate men. These things we do not so much admire, as think worthy of remembrance, being well ascertain'd, that Nature may well assume to herself the greatest share of knowledg, who has the painful charge of begetting all things.

19. And now being we are talking of things that exceed common reason, let us give a relation of that Serpent, which *Livie* has so elegantly described. For he saith, that upon the Banks of the River *Bagrada* in *Africk* so great a Serpent appear'd, as hindred the whole Army of *Attilius Regulus* from the use of the water: Many Souldiers she swallowed down her fishy wide Mouth, many killed with the hideous bangs of her Tail: and when they could pierce her with no Dart or Spear, at length they were forced to plant their Engines of Battery against, and bruise her to pieces with huge Stones and Flints of massie weights, and to all both Horse and Foot seemed more terrible than *Carthage* it self. At what time the stream being dented with her Blood, and the air infected with the stench of her Body, the Roman Camp was forced to remove. The Skin of this Monster, he saith, was 120 foot long, and sent to *Rome*.

LIB. II.

CHAP. I.

Of Matrimonial Ceremonies, and Duty of Relations.

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| 1. Good Signes preceding Marriage. | 6. Conjugal Love. |
| 2. Marriage-Feasts. | 7. Modest Consanguinity. |
| 3. Women praised for living Widows. | 8. The Feast of Chastity, or Love. |
| 4. First Divorce. | 9. Age honoured. |
| 5. Matrimonial liberty and decency. | 10. Youth observed, and instructed by example. |

WHile we are searching into the rich and potent kingdom of Nature, it will not be unreasonable to take notice of the antient and memorable Institutions, as well of our own City, as of other Nations. For it is worth our while to know the first original of those happy Manners, and that way of living which we now enjoy under the best of Princes, seeing that the consideration of them may perhaps be profitable to the present Customs.

1. Among the Antients there was nothing either publickly or privately undertaken, unless they had first observed the sign; from which Custome, the South-sayers were alwaies consulted before Marriages. And though they have left off the marking of Birds, or bodings of good or bad luck, yet nominally they follow the footsteps of the old Custome.

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2. The Women supp'd with the Men sitting, but the Men lay down: which Custome among men was observed in Heaven. For *Jupiter* is said to sup lying on his Couch, while *Juno* and *Minerva* are invited to sit. Which kind of severe Custome our Age more diligently observes in the Capitol than in their Houses: It being more proper to adhere to the Discipline of Goddeses than Women.

3. They that were content to be married but once, were honoured with a Crown of Chastity. For they believed that Matron to have an incorrupted mind, and sincere Loyalty, that would not leave the Chamber where she had first deposited her Virginity; and esteemed the experience of many Matrimonies to be a signe of some Incontinency.

4. There was no Divorce between Man and Wife till Five Hundred and Twenty Years after the City was built. The first was *Spurius Carvilius*, who divorced his Wife for being barren. Who though he appeared to have a good excuse for what he did, yet there were that blamed him enough, being such as believed that Conjugal Loyalty was to be preferred before desire of Children.

5. But that the Honour and Modesty of Matrons might be more sacred, when they were call'd into Court, no man was permitted to touch them, that their Garments might not be defiled by the contact of a strange hand. The use of Wine was formerly unknown to the *Roman* Women, for fear it might bring them to any disgrace, because the first degree to forbidden *Venus* is from father *Bacchus*. Yet that their Chastity might not alway occasion undecent retirement, but that they might appear in a comely Garb of converse, through the Indulgence of their Husbands they wore Purple, and ornaments of Gold. For then Corrupters of Marriages were not fear'd, but Women

might modestly behold, and chastly be beheld.

6. When there was any difference between Husband and Wife, they went to the Chappel of the Goddess *Viriplaca*, which is in the Palace: and having liberty to talk what they had a minde to, after the heat was over, they returned home very good friends. This Goddess had her name from appeasing of men; worthy of adoration, and to be worshipped not with choice but exquisite Sacrifices: as being the Keeper of dayly and Family-peace, rendering to men and women, under the same yoke of Peace, what is due to the Majesty of men, and the Honour of women.

7. This Modesty among Wives, is it not necessary among other Relations? for that I may by a small example, set forth the great force thereof: formerly neither Father us'd to wath with his Son at age, nor Father-in-law with Son-in-law. Whence it appears, there was as much Religion attributed to Kindred and Consanguinity, as to the Immortal Gods; while among those that were thus ti'd, it was no more lawful to strip themselves, than it was in the Temple.

8. Our Ancestors also instituted a sacred Feast, which was call'd *Charistia*, where none were admitted but Kindred; that if there were any difference among Relations, there might be a reconciliation by the help of Friends, in the midst of their sacred Rites and holy Mirth.

9. Youth gave to Old Age such respect and manifold Honour, as if the elder were the common Father of the younger. There upon Council-day, if any young man waited upon any Senator, Relation, or Friend of his Father, to the Senate, they stay without door till the other came to perform the same duty home again. By which voluntary attendance they accusom'd their bodies and minds to undergo publick Offices, and in a short time became more experienced in

in labour and meditation. Being invited to a Feast, they diligently inquired who was to be there, that they might not be forced to rise to give way to their Elder: and when the Cloth was taken away, they always rose and went away first: and all the time of Supper they were very sparing and modest in their discourse.

10. The Elder were wont to sing the famous deeds of their Ancestors, in Verse, at their Festivals, thereby to stir up Youth by imitation thereof. What more splendid or more profitable than this kind of Combat? Youth honour'd Gray Hairs, and superannuated Age encourag'd those who were ready to enter into Action with the nourishment of their favour. What *Athens*, what School, what forraign Education may I prefer to this Domestick Discipline? This raised the *Camili Scipio's*, *Fabricii*, *Marcelli*, and *Fabii*: and that I may not be tedious in recounting all the lights of our noble Empire, thus the most glorious part of Heaven the sacred *Cæsars* obtained their fame.

C H A P. I I.

Of the Offices of Magistrates and Orders.

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| 1. The Roman Fidelity and Taciturnity. | 5. Constancy of the Roman Embassadors. |
| 2. Authority of Magistrates, and observance of the Latin Tongue. | 6. Vigilancy of the Senate. |
| 3. C. Marius despising Eloquence. | 7. Diligence of the Tribunes. |
| 4. Consular Majesty. | 8. Abstinence of the Magistrates. |
| | 9. The Tryal of the Roman Knights, and Lupercalia. |

1. **S**O high a Love had all our Ancestors for their Country, that there was not a Senator who for many Ages would reveal the Transactions of the Fathers. *Q. Fabius Maximus* onely, and he also through imprudence, going into the Country and meeting *P. Crassus* by the way, told him what was done in order to proclaiming the Second *Punic* War, remembring that he had been *Questor* three years before, and not knowing that he was not yet put into the Senate by the Censors, who were the only persons that gave admittance to those that had born Honours in that Assembly. However, though this were but a harmless errout in *Fabius*, yet he was severely reprehended for it by the Consuls. For they would by no means suffer Taciturnity, the best and safest bond of Government, to be violated in the least. And therefore when *Eumenes* King of *Asia* gave intelligence to the Senate, that *Perseus* was preparing to make War, it could not be known either what *Eumenes* said, or what the Fathers answered, till *Perseus* was taken.

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The Court was the faithful and deep breast of the Commonwealth, environ'd and fortifi'd with Silence; which they that enter'd, soon cast off private Love, cloathing themselves with publick Zeal. So that I may say, that one would have thought, that no man heard what was committed to the ears of so many.

2. But our antient Magistrates how they behaved themselves in bearing up the Majesty of the *Roman* People, from hence may be observed, that among all their other marks of Gravity, this they punctually maintain'd, not to talk with the *Greeks* but in the *Latine* Tongue. And also causing them to lay aside the volubility of their own language, forc'd them to speak by an Interpreter, not only in our own City, but in *Greece* and *Asia*: That the honour of the *Latine* Tongue might be spread with greater veneration among other Nations. Not but that they had their Schools of Learning, but that they did not hold it convenient that the Gown should in any thing be subject to the Cloak. Believing it a poor and low thing, that the weight and authority of Government should be tam'd by the charms of Eloquence.

3. And therefore, *Caius Marius*, thou art not to be condemn'd of clownish Rigour, not to let thy old age, crown'd with a double Lawrel, illustrious with *German* and *Numidian* Trophies, be softened and overcome by the Eloquence of a vanquish'd Nation. Perhaps, lest while he appear'd a forrainer in the exercises of his Wit, he might seem a Runagate from his native Rites and Customes. Who therefore open'd the way to the *Greek* Pleadings that now deafen our ears? *Molo* the Rhetorician, as I am perswaded, who likewise sharpened the studies of *M. Cicero*. For he was the first Stranger that was ever heard in the Senate without an Interpreter; which Honour he receiv'd not undeservedly, having mainly advanc'd the force of the *Roman* Eloquence.

Eloquence. Of conspicuous felicity is *Arpinum*, whether you respect the one as a great contemner of Learning, or the other as the abounding Fountain thereof.

4. With great diligence this Custome also was observed by our Ancestors, that no person might walk between the Consul and the last Licor, though he went along by vertue of his Office, unless he were a Child and the Son of the Consul. Which Custome was so obstinately maintain'd, that *Q. Fabius Maximus*, five times Consul, and besides in prime Authority, and honour'd with Age, being requested to go between him and the Licor, for fear of being overborn by the crowd of *Samnites*, with whom he was going to treat, yet refus'd the Courtellie. The like did that same *Fabius* when he was sent by the Senate to his Son Consul at *Suessa*. For as his Son was dispatching Causes without the City, he took his Horse to ride through the prease; but his Son seeing him afar off, sent a Licor to him, commanding him to alight and come afoot, if he had any thing to say to the Consul. Whom *Fabius* readily obeyed, saying, Son, I did not this in contempt of thy Authority, but only to try whether thou knewest how to behave thy self like a Consul or no: Nor am I ignorant what is my Duty to my Countrey; but I prefer publike Institutions before private Piety.

5. Having done with the *Fabii*, Men of an admirable Constancy offer themselves, who being sent to *Tarentum* by the Senate to demand certain things; after they had received many Injuries, one of them having a Pisspot thrown upon his Cloaths, they were brought to the Theater, or place of Audience, and finished the whole business of the Embassie; but as to what they had suffered, they uttered not a word, lest they might seem to talk more than what they had given

given them in charge : for it was impossible that any vexation at the affronts which they had received, could make them alter the respect which they had to Antient Custome.

6. But I will pass from Customes grown obsolete through Vice, to the most severe Institutions of our Ancestours, before the Senate sat continually in that place which was call'd the *Little Senate-House* ; they never were assembled by Edict, but being cited they came immediately. For they thought the praise of that Citizen much to be call'd in question, that was to be compell'd to shew his Duty to his Country. For whatever is forc'd by Compulsion, is lookt upon as rather done by Constraint than Duty.

7. We are likewise to remember, that it was not lawful for the Tribunes of the people to be admitted into the Senate ; but being plac'd upon Seats before the Doors, there it behov'd 'um diligently to hear and examine the Decrees that were under Vote, that if there were any thing which they mislik'd, they might hinder them from passing. And therefore the Letter *T* was wont to be subscrib'd at the bottom of all the antient Decrees of the Senate : by which Mark it was understood that the Tribunes had consented. Who although it were their business to lie peidu for the good of the People, and to suppress the growth of ambitious attempts ; yet they suffer'd them to use Silver Vessels, and to wear Gold Rings given them at the publick charge, by the sight of such things to render the authority of their Magistracy the more conspicuous.

8. Whose Authority as it increased, so their abstinence was most strictly commanded : For the Entrails of the Sacrifices offer'd by the Tribunes, were brought to the Quætors of the Treasury. The worship of the Gods, and humane Conscience, was shewn in those
Sacrifices

Sacrifices of the Roman people, our Captains learning at those Altars what holy hands they ought to come prepared with. And such honour they gave to Continence, that many times the Debts of those that had well behaved themselves in the government of the Republick, were paid by the Senate: For they esteemed it an unworthy thing, that the dignity of those men should suffer at home, by whose industry the Commonwealth had obtained splendor abroad.

9. The Youth of the Order of Knighthood, twice every year, were wont to shew themselves in a publick Spectacle at the charge of some great Person, upon the day of the *Lupercal* Feasts, which was the time of the approbation of Knights. The Customs of the *Lupercals* were begun by *Romulus* and *Remus*, at such a time as they were making merry, for that their Uncle *Numitor* had permitted them to build a City in the place where they were bred up, under Mount *Palatine*, which *Evander* the *Argive* had consecrated by advice of *Faustulus* their Foster-father. For there-upon they made a Sacrifice, and having slain several Goats, and eat and drank somewhat more largely than ordinary, they divided themselves, and in their jollity made a sportive Combat together; the memory of which Pastime is celebrated with annual succession of Holidiaes. As for the Knights, which were named *Trabeati*, *Quintus Fabius* appointed their publick Shew upon the *Ides* of *July*. He also, being Cenfor with *Pub. Decius*, in commemoration of a Sedition which he had appeas'd, when the *Comitia* or publick choice of Magistrates was almost fallen into the hands of the meanest people, divided the whole Rout into four Tribes, which he called *City Tribes*; by means of which wholesome act, being a man otherwise famous in Warlike Acts, he obtain'd the name of *Maximus*, or Greatest.

C H A P. III.

Of Military Institutions.

1. Souldiers first tax'd by Pole. 3. The first use of the Velites, or light-armed.
2. Military Exercise.

THe Modesty of the People is also to be commended, who by freely offering themselves to the labours and dangers of War, prevented their Commanders from putting those that were tax'd by Pole to their Oaths; whose extreme poverty being suspected, made them incapable of being trusted with the Publick Arms.

1. This Custome confirm'd by long use, *C. Marius* first brake, making Souldiers of those that were tax'd by Pole. A noble Citizen, yet by the Novelty which he brought in, not so propitious to Antiquity. Not unmindful, that if Military Sloath should persist to despise humility, he himself might be deem'd a Commander cess'd by the Pole. Therefore he thought it best to obliterate that proud way of choice among the *Roman Armies*, lest the contagion of that mark should spread it self to the obscuring his own glory.

2. The Discipline of handling Arms was recommended to the Souldiers by *P. Rutilius* Consul, Colleague with *Cn. Mallius*: For not following the example of any Commander before him, calling together the Teachers of the Gladiators, from the Plays of *Cn. Aurelius Scawus*, he first began to have the Souldiers learn the way of shunning and giving blows, according to the reasons of Art; mixing virtue with art, and art with virtue; strengthening vertue with the force of art, and encouraging art with the force of strength.

3. The use of the *Velites*, or light-armed, was first experienc'd when *Fulvius Flaccus* besieged *Capua*. For when our Horse, being in number fewer, were not able to resist the frequent excursions of the *Campanian* Cavalry, *Q. Nevius* a Centurion choosing out of the Foot certain that were nimble of body, armed with light and crooked Spears and little Targets, ordered them with a swift running jump to joyn them-

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selves with the Horse, and by and by as swiftly to retire; whereby the Foot being mingled with the Horse, with their Darts not only infested the men, but the horses likewise. Which unusual way of Fight was the only overthrow of the *Campanian Treachery*. For which cause *Nevius* the author of it is still had in great honour.

CHAP. IV.

Of Shews.

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| 1. Theaters first built. | 5. First Secular Plays. |
| 2. Places appointed for superiority. | 6. Ornaments and pride of Plays. |
| 3. The Original of Comical Scenes. | 7. First Gladiator, and Wrestling-Shews. |
| 4. Of Secular Plays. | |

1. **F**rom Military Institutions we are next to come to the City-Camps, that is to say, the Theaters, for that upon them were many Combats oftentimes for victory, invented both for the recreation of Men, and worship of the Gods; not without some blushing tincture upon the face of Peace, to see Delight and Religion contaminated with civil blood, merely for Scenical Ostentation.

2. They were begun by *Massilla* and *Cassius*, Censors; but by the authority of *Scipio Nasica*, the whole furniture of all their work was publicly told. Afterwards a Decree of Senate pass'd, that no one should have any seats in the City, nor within a Mile thereof, or behold the Playes sitting, to the end that Manhood in standing, joyn'd with relaxation of the Mind, might be a mark of the *Roman* Fortitude.

3. For

3. For Five Hundred Fifty Eight years, the Senate stood mixt among the common People to behold the publick Shews. But this custome *Atilius Serranus* and *L. Scribonius* Edils abrogated, when they made Plays to the Mother of the Gods, following the judgment of the Elder *Africanus*, and setting up seats for the Senators distinct from the people. Which thing alienated the Affection of the common people, and weakned the high esteem which they had of him.

4. Now I shall rehearse the beginning and first original Institution of Playes. In the time that *Sulpitius Peticus* and *Licinius Stolo* were Consuls, a most violent Pestilence had afflicted our City, then at peace abroad, with new cares of preservation from intestine calamity: And there was no help in any humane advice, all reliance was upon the strict and new worship of Religion. Nor would the favour of the Gods lend any ear to the Verses compos'd for their atonement, until the time which *Romulus*, upon his ravishing the *Sabine* Virgins, consecrated with particular Festivals, which he called *Consualia*. Now as it is the custome of men to pursue small beginnings with an ardent affection, the young men added gesture to the pious and reverent words which they us'd towards the Gods, though with a rustick and uncompos'd motion of their Bodies. Which occasioned the calling of *Ludius* out of *Hetruria*, whose comely swiftness after the manner of the *Curetes* and *Lydians*, from whom the *Hetrurians* had their Original, was a pleasing Novelty to the eyes of the *Romans*: and because *Ludius* was among them called *Histrio*, therefore all Players were afterwards called *Histriones*. At length the Discipline of playing advanced it self to the measures of the Sa yis: whence first of all the Poet *Livie* took the affections of the people with Historical Arguments. He being often bawl'd at by the people, to please

please um having injur'd his Voice, at length by the assistance of a Boy and a Musician perform'd his Action in quiet : for he alwaies acted his own Works himself. The *Attellans* were call'd in by the *Ofici*; which sort of recreation being temper'd by the *Italian* Severity, continued without any blemish ; for they were neither remov'd from their Tribe, nor debarr'd of Military Stipends.

5. And because it appears by their names whence the other Plaies had their derivation, it may not seem absurd to relate the beginning of the *Secular* Games, the knowledg whereof is least certain. At what time the City and Country was afflicted with a most violent Pestilence, one *Valesius* a certain rich man, who led a countrey life, his two Sons and his Daughter being all desperately sick, as he was reaching some hot water for um from the fire, kneeling on his knees, pray'd his familiar Household-gods that they would turn the evil from his Children upon his own head. Presently he heard a voice, which told him his Children should recover, if he would carry them down the River *Tiber* to *Tarentum*, and there refresh them with hot water from the Altar of *Dis* and *Proserpina*. Being troubled at this Prediction, because it was a long and dangerous Voyage ; yet hope overcoming his present fear, he carried the Children to the Banks of *Tiber*, (for he lived in a house of his own, in a Village call'd *Eretum*, adjoining to the Countrey of the *Sabines*) and in a little Vessel sayling to *Ostia*, he put in about the middle of the Night at the Field of *Mars*. At which time the Children being thirsty, and there being no means to relieve um, for that there was no fire in the Vessel, the Pilot told him, that he had discovered a smoak not far off. Who thereupon being commanded to go ashore to *Tarentum*, that was the name of the place, he hastily took a Cup, which assoon as he had fill'd out of

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the River in that place where the smoak arose, he return'd very cheartful, believing that now he had obtained the footsteps of a Remedy sent from Heaven, and in a field that rather seem'd to smoak than have any reliques of fire; getting such fuel as by chance he met with, and stedfastly pursuing the Omen, with continual blowing, he kindled a fire, and brought warm water to the Children. Which they had no sooner drank off, but falling into a quiet sleep, they suddenly recover'd of their distemper. Waking, they related to their Father, that they had seen they knew not what gods, which wip'd their Skins with a Sponge, and commanded them that they should offer Sacrifices of black Beasts at the Altar of *Dis* and *Proserpina*, where the Porion of water was first brought them, making withal Nocturnal Plays and Tables covered. The Father, because he saw no Altar there, believing that it was expected that he should build one, went to the City to buy one, leaving upon the place certain Workmen to dig the foundation. They in prosecution of their Masters command having digg'd a matter of 20 foot deep, at length beheld an Altar inscribed to Father *Dis* and *Proserpina*. Which being told to *Valesius* by his Servant, he left off his purpose of buying an Altar, and offer'd black Sacrifices at *Terentium*, and provided Plays and cover'd Tables three whole Nights together, for that he had three Children.

¶ Whole example *Publius Publicola*, who was the first Consul, following, out of a desire to recover the health of his Citizens, making publick Vows at the same Altar, offer'd certain black Oxen to *Dis* and *Proserpina*, and caus'd Plays to be acted and Tables cover'd for three Nights together, and then cover'd the Altar with earth as it was before.

¶ As Wealth increas'd, Pomp and Magnificence

was added to the Religion of Plays. To which purpose *Q. Catulus* imitating the *Campanian* Luxury, was the first that cover'd the Seats of the Spectators with Canvas. *Cn. Pompey* before any other temper'd the heat of Summer, by bringing little Streams to run along the sides of the Ways. *Cn. Pulcher* was the first that adorn'd the Scenes with variety of Colours. Which afterward *Antonie* cover'd with Silver. *Petreius* with Gold. *Q. Catulus* with Ebony. *Lucullus* made them of turn'd work. *Spinther* adorn'd them with Silver. Afterwards *Scaurus* abolishing the use of *Punick* Cloaks, brought in fashion a more exquisite kind of Garment.

8 The Gift of Gladiators Shews was first presented in *Rome* in the Ox-Market, in the Consulship of *App. Claudius* and *M. Fulvius*. Another was given by *Marcus* and *Decius* the Sons of *Brutus*, to honour their Fathers Funerals. The Shews of the Wrestlers were presented at the charge of *M. Scaurus*.

CHAP. V.

Of Frugality and Innocency.

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| 1. The first Golden Statue in the City. | 4. The first Colledge of Mathematicians. |
| 2. The Civil Law, with Holidays first proclaimed. | 5. The Frugality of the Antients. |
| 3. The first examination of Witchcraft. | 6. The Chappell of the Goddess Feaver. |

1. **N**Ever any man beheld a Golden Statue either in the City, or in any other part of *Italy* till there was one erected by *M. Acilius Glabrio* to his father, of the

the Order of Knighthood, in the Temple of Piety : Which Temple he himself dedicated in the Consulship of *Cor. Lentulus* and *M. Babius Tamphilus*; his father having obtain'd the end of his Vow, when he had overthrow'n *Antiochus* at the Battle of *Thermopylae*.

2. The Civil Law was for many Ages concealed among the most sacred *Arcana* and Ceremonies of the immortal Gods, and only known to the High-Priests; but at last made common by *Cn. Flavius* a Scribe, whose Father was a Slave manumitted : He being also made the Charioter *Ædil*, though to the great offence and indignation of the Nobility that were Freemen born, first ordain'd the Publication of Holy-days. Coming to visit his Colleague that was sick, and none of the Nobles, of which the Room was full, rising to let him sit, he commanded his Seat of Office to be brought him; and so in vindication of his own Honour, and scorn of their Contempt, sat down.

3. The examination of Witchcraft, formerly unknown to the Customs and Laws of the *Romans*, came to be in use upon the detection of several Crimes committed by certain ancient Matrons; who having secretly poyson'd their Husbands, being at length discovered by a Maid-servant, above an hundred and seventy suffer'd death.

4. The Colledge of Musicians drew the eyes of the common people upon them, being wont upon private and publick Spectacles to play in Consort, in variety-colour'd Habits and Masques. From thence they took farther liberty. Of old being forbid to diet in the Temple of *Jupiter*, which was the antient Custom, in great discontent they retired to *Tibur*. But the Senate not brooking the want of their service at the sacred Festivals, by their Ambassadors requested of the *Tiburtnes*, that they would send um back to *Rome*. They refusing to go, the *Tiburtnes* invited um to a

great Banquet, and while they were overcome with Sleep and Drink, put um in Carts, and sent um away. When they were return'd, they were restor'd to their former honour, and their priviledges of Play granted them. They us'd Masks, being alham'd of their being circumvented in drink.

5. The plain Diet of the Antients was a most certain sign of their Humanity and Continency. For then the greatest men took it for no discredit to Dine and Sup in open view. Nor had they any Banquets which they were alham'd to conceal from the eyes of the People. They were so addicted to Continence, that the use of Pulse was more frequent than Bread. And therefore that Cake, which was us'd in their Sacrifices, was made only of Barley and Salt. The Entrails were sprinkled with Barley; and they fed the Pullets whence they took their Omens, with Pulse. For of old, they thought the Offerings of their Diet, by how much the plainer it was, so much the more efficacious to appease the Gods.

6. Other Gods they ador'd, that they might do them good. But to the Discafe Feaver they built a Temple, that she might do them the less hurt. Among which there was one in the *Palatium*, another in the Court of *Marians* Monuments, a third at the upper end of the Long Village. And there were all Remedies laid up, proper for the sick. These were found out by experience to assuage the heats of human rage, besides they preserv'd their Health by the most certain assistance of Industry: Frugality being as it were the Mother of their Sanity, an Enemy to luxurious Banquets, and altogether averse from riotous drinking, and immoderate *Venus*.

CHAP. VI.

Of Forreign Institutions.

1. *Frugality of the Spartans.*
2. *Their Military Custome.*
3. *The Athenian Custome against idle Persons.*
4. *Their Areopagus.*
5. *Their honour of Vertue.*
6. *Their punishment of Ingratitude.*
7. *Various Institutions of the Massilientes.*
8. *The Ceti poisoning themselves.*
9. *The Law of the Massilientes concerning armed Strangers.*
10. *The Custome of the Gauls in lending.*
11. *The Custome of the Cimbrians and Celtiberians in their first Onsets.*
12. *The opinion of the Thracians of the misfortunes of Life.*
13. *The mourning of the Lycians.*
14. *The Fidelity of the Indian Women to their Husbands.*
15. *Prostitution of the Punic Women.*
16. *The Custome of the Persians in Education of Children.*
17. *How the Namidian Kings preserved their Authority.*

1. **T**HE City of *Sparta* follow'd the same Rules, being the nearest to the Gravity of our Ancestors: who continuing for some years most obedient to the severe Laws of *Lycurgus*, would by no means permit the eyes of their Citizens to behold the delicacies of *Asia*; lest being tempted with the Allurements of that Countrey, they should degenerate into a voluptuous Life. For they had heard that all manner of Excess, all kind of unnecessary Pleasures did there a-

bound.

bound; And that the *Ionians* were the first that used Anointing and giving Crowns and Garlands at Feasts, and brought up the custome of a Second Course, no small incitements to Luxury. And it is no wonder, that men delighting in Labour and Patience, would not that the most indissoluble Nerves of their Country should be weakned and broken by the contagion of forreign Delicacies: finding it easier to decline from Vertue to Luxury, than to recede from Luxury to Vertue. Which that it was no vain fear of theirs, their Captain *Panfanis* made apparent, who after he had perform'd great Actions, was not asham'd to suffer his Fortitude to be softned with the effeminate Behaviour and Apparell of *Asia*.

2. The Armies of the same City were never wont to joyn Battle, till they had heated their Courage with the sound of their Flutes, whose Tunes went all in *Anapestic* measures, whereby they were taught to assail their Enemies with smart and thick Blows. They also were wont to use Scarlet Coats, to hide the Blood of their Wounds. Not that the sight thereof was any terrour to them, but that their Enemies should gain no heart or Courage thereby.

3. Remarkable was the Valour of the *Lacedaemonians* in War; yet no less memorable were the most prudent Customes of the *Athenians* in Peace: Among whom Sloath was ferreted out of her lurking holes, and brought to receive punishment as a Criminal, in their publick Courts of Justice.

4. There was also among them a most sacred Council, call'd the *Areopagus*, where diligent enquiry was wont to be made, what course of life every one took, and what every one did to maintain themselves; that men might be induced to follow honesty, finding so severe accompt was taken of their Actions.

5. This Council first introduced the custome of giving

giving Crowns to vertuous Citizens, encircling first the famous Brows of *Pericles*, with two little wreaths of Olive. A noble Institution, whether we look at the thing, or the Person. For Honour is the most fruitful nourishment of Vertue; and *Pericles* a most worthy person for Posterity to take the example of giving Honour to desert.

6. What shall we say of that most memorable Institution among the *Athenians*? When a Servant manumitted by his Patron, and afterwards convicted by him of Ingratitude, the Servant was thereupon deprived of his Liberty. *We dismiss thee*, said the Council, *an impious contemner of so great a gift*. Nor could they be induced to believe that he would prove a profitable Member of the City, who was so wicked in his own Family: *Be gone therefore, and be a Servant, that knowest not the value of being free*.

7. The *Massilians* likewise to this day retain a very great strictness in Discipline, through their observance of ancient Customes, eminent for their love to the *Romans*. They permit a man to make void the liberty which he has given to his Servant, if they finde the Servant to have deceived the Master three times. The fourth time they give no relief to the Master, whose own fault it was to let himself be injur'd so often. The same City is also a most strict observer of Severity; for they give no admillion to Mimicks to come upon the Stage, the subject of whose Plays consisting generally in relations of Adulteries, lest the Custome of beholding should beget a Custome of committing the crime. They shut their doors against all that beg under pretence of Religion; esteeming Simulation and Superstition two things not to be endur'd. The Sword with which Criminals are put to death, hath been there ever since the City was built, so rusty, that it is scarce fit for the purpose, but still remains to shew the

great veneration which they give to ancient Monuments.

There are also two Coffins at their Gates, in the one of which they put the bodies of Free-men, in the other of Servants, and so put them in a Cart to be carried to the Grave: the Funeral is performed without lamentations or crying for the Dead, making only a domestick Sacrifice, and providing a Collation for the Kindred. For what avails it to indulge Human Passion, or to envy the Gods, because they would not share their Immortality with us? Poyson is also kept in the City, and is given to those who give sufficient reason to the *Six Hundred* (that is the name of their Senate) why they desire to die. Manly Courage being temper'd with Kindness, while the Senate takes care that they do not inconsiderately make away themselves, yet are willing to give as easie a Death as may be to those that upon good grounds desire it.

8. Which Custome I believe not to have had its original in *Gasul*, but to have been brought out of Greece, finding it to have been observ'd in the Island of *Ceum*, at what time going for *Asia* with *Sextus Pompeius*, I came to the City of *Julida*. It hapned that there was in the City a Woman of very great Quality, but very aged, that had resolv'd, after ac-
count given to the Senate why she desired to live no longer, to make her self away with Poyson, thinking her Death would be more famous through the presence of *Pompey*. Nor could he, a person full of all Vertue, and of a sweet disposition, refuse her Petition. And therefore after he had in a most eloquent Oration, that dropt from his lips like Honey, us'd all the perswasions that might be to dissuade her from her purpose, and saw he could not prevail, he permitted her to take her course. So having pass'd the Ninetieth year of her Age, with a great magnanimity and chearful

cheerful Countenance, throwing her self upon a Bed, which was more gayly trimm'd than ordinary, and leaning upon her Elbow, beholding Pompey, *The Gods*, said she, *whom I leave behind, not those to which I am going; give thee thanks; because thou neither dost exhort me to live, nor loath to see me die. As for my self, who have always been in Fortunes favour, lest out of a desire of life I should finde her frowns, I am willing to change the remnant of my breath for a happy conclusion, leaving behind me two Daughters, and seven Grand children.* After that exhorting them all to Unity, and dividing her Estate among them, giving her Cloaths and Domestick *Sacrata* to her Eldest Daughter, with a wonderful cheerfulness she took the Cup wherein the Poyson was mixt, in her right hand: Then pouring out her Offerings to *Mercury*, and invoking his Deity to grant her a pleasant Journey to the best part of the Infernal Region, greedily she drank the Potion off. Then as the Poyson seized her particular parts, she told us; and when she found it approaching to her Bowels and Heart, she call'd her Daughters to do their last Duty of closing her Eyes. Our People admiring at so strange a sight, departed with tears however in their Eyes.

9. But to return to the City of the *Maffilians*, from whence this Digression made us wander; There is no person to enter their City with a Dart: But going forth again, he that received it is ready to return it again; endeavouring thereby to make their Entertainment as safe as courteous.

10. Going out of their Walls, we meet an antient Custome of the *Gauls*, who were wont to lend Money, to receive it again in the other World; being perswaded of the truth of the Immortality of the Soul. I should call them fools, but that they were of the same opinion as *Pythagoras*.

11. The

11. The Philosophy of the *Gauls* was covetous and usurious; that of the *Cimbrians* and *Celtiberians* courageous and resolute; who in Battle-array rejoiced that they should gloriously and happily die, but upon their Death-beds lamented that they should perish poorly in shame and misery. For the *Celtiberians* thought it a crime to survive in Battle, when any Friend was slain, for whose preservation he had devoted his life.

12. But the People of *Thrace* deservedly challenge to themselves the praise of Wisdom, who at the Birth of Children weep, at the Funerals of Men rejoice; taught by no other Precepts than the true condition of Human Nature. And therefore, let all Creatures but extinguish in themselves the love of Life, which compels them to act and suffer many ugly things, especially when it lies in their power to make a happy and blessed end of living.

13. Wherefore the *Lycians*, when they have any occasion of lamentation, put on Womens Apparel: that being moved with the deformity of the Habit, it might be a motive to them to make a quicker end of their sorrow.

14. But why should I insist longer upon the praise of Men, though most courageous in this kind of prudence? Let us observe the *Indian* Women, where it was the Custome for one Man to have many Wives. Among whom so soon as the Husband died, there us'd to be great strife and contention, which was the best below'd by the dead. She that gets the Victory, triumphing for joy, is led by her Kindred to her Husbands Funeral Pile; which being set on fire, with a cheerful and smiling Countenance, she throws herself into the midst of the flames, and is burnt with her Husband, accounting herself most happy in her end. Bring forth the *Cimbrian* boldness, adde to that the

Celtibe-

Celtiberian faith, to this joyn the generous wisdom of *Thrace*, not forgetting the cunning custome of the *Lycians* in Mourning; there is none of these that excels the *Indian* Funeral, into which the pious Wife, assured to die, enters, as into her Nuptial Bed.

15. To their glory I will adde the infamy of the *Carthaginian* Dames, that by comparifon it may appear more odious. They had among um the Temple of *Dry Venus*, where the Matrons were wont to meet. There, by the injury of their Bodies, they were wont to raise themselves Portions; accounting it no dishonour, to tie the honest Marriage-Knot with such a dishonest Band.

16. But the Custome of the *Persians* was more laudable, who were never wont to see their Children, till they were Seven Years old; that so they might the more easily brook their loss, if they died in their Infancy.

17. Nor was the Custome of the *Numidian* Kings to be blam'd, who were never accustom'd to give a Kiss to any Mortal. Esteeming it fitting, that Sovereign Authority should be void of all common and familiar Customes, that might lessen the Reverence due to Majesty.

CHAP. VII.

Of Military Discipline.

Observed by the Romans.

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 9. L. Calpurnius Piso | Cos. |
| 10. Q. Metellus | Proconsul. |
| 11. Q. Fabius Maximus | Proconsul. |
| 1. P. Scipio Emilianus | Cos. |
| 2. Q. Metellus Numidicus. | 12. P. African the Greater. |
| 3. P. Rupilius | Cos. |
| 4. Caius Cotta. | 13. P. African the Less. |
| 5. Q. Fulvius Flaccus | Cen- |
| 6. A. Posthumius Tubertus | 14. L. Emilius Paulus |
| Dictator, and T. Manlius | 15. The Roman Senate. |
| Forquatus. | |
| 7. Quintus Cincinnatus | External. |
| Dictator. | 1. The Carthaginian Se- |
| 8. Q. Papirius Cursor | Dict. |
| | 2. Clearchus Captain of |
| | the Spartans. |

I Now come to the principal Glory, and chief establishment of the *Roman* Empire, remaining to this day in a healthy continuance of inviolable Liberty, knit together with most firm and lasting cords of her Military Discipline, in the safeguard of whose wholesome Peace and Tranquillity securely repose.

1. *Pub. Cornelius Scipio*, who received his Surname from the ruine of *Carthage*, being sent Consul into *Spain*, that he might curb the insolent spirit of the Citizens of *Numantium*, grown proud and lofty through the remissness of the Captains his Predecessors, the same moment that he entred the Camp, made a Law, that they

they should throw away all things whatsoever which they had about them, that was only for bravery and pleasure, and otherwise unnecessary. Whereupon there were above two thousand Whores, Sutlers and Hucksters turn'd out of the Camp. Upon which the Army, being clear'd of all that luggage and filth, that lately for fear of death had sham'd themselves with an ignominious Truce, now refresh'd, and recovering new vigour and courage, in a short time laid the fierce and haughty *Numantium* level with the ground. Thus *Mancinus* miserably surrendring himself, was an argument of Discipline Neglected; *Scipio* gloriously triumphing, publish'd the reward of Discipline Revived.

2. *Metellus* following his example, when in the War with *Jugurth* he took the command of the Army as Consul, corrupted through the Lenity of *Albinus*, labour'd with all his might to recover the antient Discipline. Nor did he aim at particular parts, but immediately reduced the whole into Order. First he remov'd the Sutlers out of the Camp, and forbid Meat ready dress'd to be sold. He permitted none of the Souldiers to have Servants or Horses to carry their Arms, or to fetch or provide um Victuals. Then he changed the place of the Camp, and fortified himself in the same manner, as if *Jugurth* had been at hand, with Ditch and Breast-work. Now what was the event of Continnence restored, and Industry revived? It obtain'd frequent Victories, and innumerable Trophies from that Enemy, whose back under an ambitious Commander, it had not been the good fortune of the *Roman* Souldiers to see before.

3. Nor did they a little countenance Military Discipline, who not regarding the affectionate ties of Kindred, did not refuse to revenge the breach and neglect thereof to the infamy of their Families. For *Publius Rupilius*

Rupilius the Consul, in that War which he wag'd in *Sicily* against the Fugitives, banished his Son-in-Law out of his Province, for loosing negligently the Castle of *Tauroninitum*.

4. *Caius Cotta* caus'd *Pub. Aurelius Pecunio* a his near Relation, to be publickly whipt (or rather, run the Gauntlet) & to serve as a common Souldier afterwards, for that through his fault, in the absence of the Consul, who going to *Messana* to consult the Auguries, had left him in command of the Army, the Fortification was burnt, and the Camp almost taken.

5. *Quintus Fulvius* Censor turn'd his Brother out of the Senate, for that he had presumed to send home a Cohort of the Legion wherein he was a Tribune, without the leave of the Consul. What more difficult for a man to do, than to send back with ignominy to his Country a person nearly related by Family and Marriage; or to use the severity of Stripes to a person allied in a long series of Blood and Kindred; or to bend his Censors frown upon the dear Relation of a Brother?

6. But our City, which hath fill'd the world with wonderful Examples of all sorts, with a double face beholds her Axes reeking with the Blood of her Commanders, lest the disturbance of Military Discipline should go unpunish'd, pompous abroad, but the cause of private grief enough; uncertain whether to perform the office of congratulating or comforting. And therefore with doubtful thoughts have I coupled you two together, most severe observers of Warlike Discipline, *Posthumus Tubertus*, and *Manlius Torquatus*; For I apprehend a fear of sinking under that weight of Praise which ye have merited, and discovering the weakness of my Wit, while I presume to represent your Vertue as it should be. For thou, O *Posthumus Dictator*, didst cause thy victorious Son *Aulus Posthumus*

humus to be beheaded; thy Son whom thou didst beget to propagate the succession of thy renowned Race, and the secret instructions of thy most sacred traditions, the allurements of whose infancy thou hadst cherish'd in thy Bosome and with thy Kisses, whom a Child thou hadst instructed in Learning, a Man in Arms; good, courageous, and obedient both to thee and to his Country; only because without thy command, without thy leave, he had overthrown his enemies, thy fatherly command was the Executioner. For I am certain, thine eyes, orewhelm'd with darkness in the brightest light, could not behold the great work of thy mind. But thou *Manlius Torquatus*, Consul in the *Latine War*, didst command thy Son to be carried away by the Officer, and to be slain like a Sacrifice, though he obtain'd a noble Victory, for that he had presum'd to fight with *Geminus Metius* Captain of the *Tuscan*, when provoked to the Combat by him. Esteeming it better, that a Father should want a courageous Son, than thy Country want Military Discipline.

7. Again, of what spirit think ye was *Quintus Cincinnatus* the Dictator, at that time when the *Aequi* being vanquished, he compelled *Minutius* to lay down the Consulship, because the Enemies had besieged his Camp? For he thought him unworthy the greatest command, whom not his Virtue, but his Trenches and his Breastworks secur'd, and who was not ashamed to see the *Roman Arms*, trembling for fear, shut up in their Turn-pikes. Thus the most commanding twelve *Fasces*, with whom remain'd the chief honour of the Senate, of the Order of Knighthood, of all the People, with whose Nod all *Latium*, and all the strength of *Italy* was govern'd, now shatter'd and broken, submitted to the punishing authority of the Dictatorship. And lest the breach of Military Honour should go unpunish'd,

punish'd, the Consul, punisher of all Crimes, must himself be punished. By these Propitiatory Sacrifices, as I may so say, O *Mars* the Father of our Empire, when we degenerated from thy auspicious Discipline, thy Deity was appeas'd : By the infamy of Kindred, Relations and Brothers, by the murder of Sons, and the ignominious degrading of Consuls.

8. To the same purpose is that which follows. *Papirius Cursor* Dictator, when *Q. Fabius Rullianus* Master of the Horse had contrary to his command brought forth the Army to Battle, though he return'd a Victor over the *Samnites*, yet neither mov'd with his Virtue, with his Success, nor with his Nobility; he caus'd the Rods to be made ready, and the Conquerour to be strippt. A spectacle of wonder ! to behold *Rullianus*, Master of the Horse, and a victorious General, his Cloaths pull'd off, his Body naked, to be lacerated with the stripes of an Executioner, to no other end than to sprinkle the glorious honour of his Victories, so lately obtain'd, with the fresh Blood of those Wounds, which he had received in the Field, drawn from his Body by the knotted stripes of the *Lictor*. At length the Army, mov'd by his Prayers, gave him the opportunity of flying into the City, where in vain he implored the aid of the Senate; for *Papirius* notwithstanding persever'd in requiring his punishment, Wherefore his Father, after having been Dictator and three times Consul, was compell'd to appeal to the People, and upon his Knees to beg the assistance of the Tribunes in the behalf of his Son. Neither by this means could the Severity of *Papirius* be restrain'd; but being intreated by the whole City, and by the Tribunes themselves, made a protestation, that he forgave the Punishment not to *Fabius*, but to the City of *Rome*, and the Authority of the Tribunes.

9. *L. Calpurnius Piso* also being Consul, being in
society

Sicily making war against the Fugitives, when *C. Titius* Commander of the Horse being environ'd and oppress'd by the multitude of the Enemy, had with the rest of his Souldiers deliver'd their Arms to the Enemy, he punisht him with several marks of Ignominy: He commanded him to march barefoot, in the first Ranks, from Morning till Night, with a Jacket, the skirts whereof were cut off, and his Cloak slit from top to bottom: he forbid him also the converse of Men, and use of the Baths; and the Troops which he commanded having taken away their Horses, he divided them among the Slingers. Thus to his great honour did *Piso* revenge the great dishonour of his Country, having brought it so to pass, that they who out of a desire of Life, and deserv'g to be hang'd, had suffer'd their Arms to become the Trophies of Fugitives, and were not ashamed to permit the ignominious yoke of Servitude to be laid upon their Liberty by the hands of Slaves, might experience the bitter enjoyment of Life, and covet that Death which they had so effeminately avoided.

10. Not less than that of *Piso* was the proceeding of *Q. Metellus*; who at the Battle of *Contrébia* having placed five Cohorts in a certain station, and seeing them retire through the multitude of their Enemies, he commanded them immediately to endeavour to recover their ground again; withal severely adding, that if any of them fly'g were found in the Camp, he should be us'd as an Enemy; not hoping by this means to regain what they had lost, but to punish them with the manifest hazards of the ensuing Combat: Yet they having received this check, weary as they were, having no other encouragement but Despair, renewed the fight, and with the slaughter of their Enemies recover'd their station. So that there is nothing like Necessity to harden humane Impetuosity.

11. In the same Province, *Q. Fabius* the Great being desirous to bring down the fierce pride of a most haughty People, forc'd his gentle disposition for a time to lay aside all Clemency, and to use himself to utmost Rigour and Severity. For he cut off the hands of all those that ran out of any Garrison of the *Romans* and were taken: That the sight of their maimed Limbs might breed in others a fear of revolting. For those rebellious Hands cut from their Bodies, and scatter'd upon the bloody Earth, taught others to beware how they committed the like Treasons.

12. Nothing could be more milde than the Elder *Africanus*; yet for the establishment of Military Discipline, he thought it convenient to borrow something of Severity from his own natural Lenity. For having taken *Carthage*, and gotten into his power all those that had fled from the *Romans* to the *Carthaginians*, he more severely punisht the *Roman* than the *Latin* Fugitives. For the first, as Deserters of their Country, he nail'd to the Cross; the other, as perfidious Allies, he only beheaded. I shall not urge this act any farther, both because it was *Scipio's*, and for that it is not fitting that a servile Punishment should insult over *Roman* blood, though deservedly shed, especially when we may pass to other relations not dipt in domestic Gore.

13. For the latter *Africanus*, the *Carthaginian* Power being destroy'd, made the Fugitives of other Nations to fight with Beasts in the publick Shews which he made for the people.

14. *Lu. Emilius Paulus*, after he had vanquish'd *Perseus*, caus'd all those that he had taken that were guilty of the same Crime to be thrown to the Elephants, that by them they might be trod to death. A most profitable Example, if we may be permitted modestly to judge of the actions of the greatest men without

out reproof. For Military Discipline requires a severe and quick way of punishment: For force consists of Arms, which when they grow disobedient will soon oppress others, unless they be brought low themselves.

15. But it is now time to make mention, not of what has been acted by particular men, but what order the whole Senate took to preserve and defend their Military Discipline. *Lucius Marcius* Tribune of the People having with wonderful courage got together the remains of the two Armies of *P.* and *Cn. Scipio's*, which the victorious *Carthaginians* had almost ruin'd, and being by them unanimously made General, writing to the Senate a relation of his transactions he thus begins: *L. Marcius* Propretor. Which usurp'd Title the Senate would not permit him to take, knowing that it was the Custome for the People, not the Armies, to choose the General. Which being a time that the Common-wealth was in great danger, and had sustain'd great Losses, one would have thought they should have rather flatter'd the Tribune, who they saw so fairly acting for the restauration of their former Honour. But no Overthrow, no Merit could sway the Senate more than their Military Discipline. And we may remember what a courageous Severity their Ancestors us'd in the *Tarentine* War: Wherein the Forces of the Common-wealth being very much weakned and broken, when they had receiv'd a great number of their Captive Fellow-Citizens, which *Pyrrhus* had sent them of his own accord; they decreed, that they who had serv'd on Horseback, should serve among the Foot; and they who had served as Foot, should be list'd among the Slingers. Moreover, that none of um should come within the Camp, nor be permitted to forsake the place assign'd them without the Camp, nor that any of um should make use of a Tent

made of Skins. But they propounded the Ancient Custome of Military Discipline to all those that took double Spoils from the Enemy. These Punishments made them, that were late the deformed Gifts of *Pyrrhus*, to be his most eager and fierce Enemies. The same rigour did the Senate use toward them that deserted the Common-wealth at *Canne*: For when by the strictness of their Decree they had reduced them to a worse condition than they who are dead, and at the same time had received Letters from *Marcellus* that they would send um to him, to assist him in the storm of *Syracuse*; the Senate wrote back, that they were not worthy to be admitted into his Camp. But they would send um to him, provided he would do with um as befitted the honour of the Common-wealth. That they should never be freed from Service, that they should never receive any Military Reward, nor be permitted to return into *Italy* while there were any Enemies therein. Thus has Vertue alwaies despis'd pusillanimous minds. How hainously was the Senate offended that the Souldiers suff'r'd *Q. Petellius* the Consul, most courageously fighting against the *Ligurians*, to be slain? For they would neither let the Stipend of the Legion go on, nor pay them any Arrears, for that they had not offer'd their Bodies to the Darts of their Enemies for the safety of their Emperour. And that Decree of so noble an Order remains a glorious and eternal Monument of *Petellius* fame, under which his Ashes rest renowned in the Field by his Death, in the Senate by their Revenge. With the same Courage, when *Hannibal* sent them the liberty to redeem Six Thousand *Romans* which he had taken, and which were Prisoners in his Camp, they scorn'd his Kindness; well knowing, that if Six Thousand Young-men had resolv'd to die bravely, they could not have been taken basely. So that it

was

was hard to say, which redounded most to their Ignominy, that their Countrey had so little esteem and care of them, or that their Enemies shewed so little fear of them. But if at any time the Senate shew'd themselves severe in the maintenance of Military Discipline, certainly then they did it in a high measure, when they imprison'd the Souldiers that had rebelliously possess'd themselves of *Rhegium*, and *Jubellius* their Captain being dead, had of their own heads chosen *M. Cæsius* his Secretary for their Leader; and notwithstanding that *M. Fulvius Flaccus* Tribune of the People declar'd that they proceeded contrary to the Custome of their Ancestors, yet persisted in their resolution. However, that they might act with less envy, they order Five Hundred after they had been whipt for several successive daies to be beheaded, ordering their Bodies to be buried, and forbidding any Lamentation or Mourning to be made for them.

FORRAIGN Examples.

1. This, Conscript Fathers, was gentle and full of mildness, if we consider the violence of the *Carthaginian* Senate in ordering their Warlike Affairs; whose Captains imprudently managing a War, though it proved successful, were nevertheless nay'd to the Cross: Imputing what they did well, to the assisting Favour of the Gods; what they did amiss, to their own Miscarriage.

2. *Clearchus*, Captain of the *Lacedæmonians*, preserv'd his Military Discipline by a famous and notable Saying, continually pealing into the ears of his Souldiers, that they ought to fear their General far more than the Enemy. Openly declaring, that they must expect to suffer the same pains flying, which they were fearful to receive in fight. Nor did they admire to be

thus threatned by their Captain, when they call'd to mind their Mothers language, who when they went to Battle were wont to admonish um, that they should either return alive with their Arms, or else be brought back dead with their Arms. Thus instructed within their own houses, the *Spartans* us'd to fight. But enough of these Forreign Examples, having more plentiful, and those more happy, to glory in of our own.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Right of Triumphing.

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|---|--|
| 1. <i>Two Laws concerning Triumphs.</i> | Q. Fulvius and L. Cornelius. |
| 2. <i>The Contentions of C. Lutatius Consul, and Q. Valerius Prætor about Triumphing.</i> | 5. <i>Why also to Pub. Scipio the Greater, and M. Marcellus.</i> |
| 3. <i>Cn. Fulvius Flaccus desisting his Triumph.</i> | 6. <i>The Banquets of those that Triumphed.</i> |
| 4. <i>Why Triumph denied to</i> | 7. <i>Of those that never Triumph'd upon a Civil Victory.</i> |

Military Discipline being vigorously maintained, was that which won all *Italy* to the *Roman* Empire, together with the command of many Cities, great Kings, and mighty Nations; open'd the Streights of the *Pontick* Sea, deliver'd up the Barricadoes and Fortresses of the *Alps* and the vast Mountain *Tanais*; and of a little Cottage of *Romulus*, made it the Pillar of the whole World. Out of whose bosome since so many Triumphs have flow'd, it seems seasonable now to discourse of the Right of Triumphing.

I. Some

1. Some Commanders have requir'd Triumphs to be decreed them for light Battels : and therefore there was a Law made, that no Captain should triumph unless he had slain Five Thousand of his Enemies in one Set Field. For our Ancestors believ'd, that the Glory of our City consisted not in the Number, but in the Glory and Magnificence of her Triumphs. And lest so brave a Law might come to be obliterated by too greedy a desire of the Lawrel, it was supported with another Law, which *L. Marius* and *M. Cato* Tribunes of the People brought in. For that made it criminal for any Emperour to multiply in their Letters to the Senate, the number of Enemies slain or Citizens lost. And they were also commanded as soon as they enter'd into the City, to swear before the City-Questors to the truth of what they had written to the Senate.

2. Having mention'd these Laws, it will be seasonable to relate what was adjudged thereupon, wherein the Right of Triumphing was discuss'd and debated among most worthy Personages. *C. Lutatius* the Consul and *Q. Valerius* the Prætor had overthrow'n and utterly ruin'd a very great Navy of the *Carthaginians* near the Coast of *Sicily*, whereupon the Senate decreed a Triumph to *Lutatius* the Consul. But when *Valerius* request'd that a Triumph might be granted to him, *Lutatius* withstood it, lest through the honour of Triumph, the lesser Authority should be made equal to the greater. The contention growing higher and higher, *Valerius* sues *Lutatius*, pretending that the *Carthaginian* Navy was not overthrow'n by his Conduct. *Lutatius* puts in Sureties to answer. The Judge between them *Atilius Calatinus* meets, before whom *Valerius* pleads, that the Consul was lame and lay in his Litter, and that he perform'd all the Offices of the General. Then *Calatinus* before

Lutatius made his defence: Tell me (said he) *Valerius*, if you two were of contrary opinions whether to fight or not, whether were the command of the Consul or the *Pretor* to be obey'd? *Valerius* answered, that he could not deny but the Consul was chiefly to be obey'd. Again, said *Lutatius*, if the Consuls and your Officers were different, which were first to be follow'd? The Consuls, replied *Valerius*. Then said the Judge, Seeing that upon these two Questions, about the Chief Command and the Priority of *Officers*, thou *Valerius* hast confest thy Adversary to be superior in both: I am not to make any further doubt. And therefore, *Lutatius*, though you have as yet made no Defence, I give judgment on your behalf. A Noble Judge, that in a business that was apparent, would not spend and trifle away his time. More probable and justifiable was the Cause of *Lutatius*, who defended the Right of a most Sovereign Honour. Yet was it not ill done of *Valerius* to require the Reward of a prosperous and courageously fought Battle; though it were not so lawfully demanded by him as by the other.

3. What shall we say to *Cn. Fulvius Flaccus*, who when the Senate had decreed him the Honour of Triumph, so much coveted by others, yet contemn'd and refus'd it? Having enough to do with other things that beset him. For he no sooner enter'd the City, but he was vext with publick Prosecutions, and at length was sent into Exile, to expiate the offences which he had committed for want of Religion.

4. Wiser therefore were *Q. Fulvius* and *L. Opimius*, the first of which having taken *Capua*, and the latter forc'd the *Fregellans* to a surrender, both requested of the Senate liberty to Triumph. Both had done great things, yet both miss'd of their desire. Not out of any envy that the Conscript Fathers had against him, but

but out of their care of preserving the Right of the Law; whereby it was enacted, that Triumphs should be only decreed to those that had enlarged the Empire, not to those who had only recovered what was in the possession of the *Roman* People before. For there is as much difference between adding what was not, and restoring what was, as there is between the beginning of a good Turn and the end of an Injury.

5. This Law whereof I speak was so carefully observed, that Triumphs were denied to *P. Scipio* and *M. Marcellus*, though the first had recovered both *Spain*, and the latter had taken *Syracuse*; by reason that they were sent to the management of those affairs, without being advanced to any publick Office of Magistracy. *Spain* ravish'd from the Empire of *Carthage*, and the Head of *Sicily* cut off, yet could not the Commanders joyn their Triumphal Chariots. But to whom? To *Scipio* and *Marcellus*, whose very Names resembled an eternal Triumph. But the Senate, though they coveted nothing more than to see crown'd those Authors of solid and true Vertue carrying upon their shoulders the safety of their Country, thought better to reserve them for a more justly merited Lawrel.

6. In this place I am to adde, that it was the Custom for the General that triumph'd to invite the Consuls to Supper, and for them so invited not to go; that no person on the Day of Triumph should appear of greater Authority, at the same Feast, than the Triumpher.

7. But though any Commander had done great things and never so profitable to the Common-wealth in a Civil War, yet he was not to have the Title of *Imperator*, neither were any Supplications or Thanksgivings decreed for him, nor was he to Triumph either in Chariot or Ovan. For though such Victories
were

were necessary, yet they were full of Calamity and Sorrow, not obtain'd with Forraign Blood, but with the slaughter of their Countreymen. Mourning therefore were the Victories of *Nasica* over *T. Gracchus*, and of *Opimius* over *C. Gracchus*. And therefore *Catulus* having vanquish'd his Colleague *Lepidus*, with the havock of all his Followers, return'd to the City, shewing only a moderate joy. *Caius Antonius* also, the Conquerour of *Catiline*, brought back his Army to their Camp with their Swords clean wath'd. *Cicero* and *Marius* greedily drank Civil Blood, but did not presently apply themselves to the Altars and Temples of the Gods. *Sylla* also, who made the greatest Civil Wars, and whose Success was most cruel and inhumane, though he triumpht in the height of his power, yet as he carried many Cities of *Greece* and *Asia*, shewd not one Town of the *Roman* Citizens.

I am grieved and weary of ripping up the Wounds of the Common-wealth. The Senate never gave to any one, nor did any one desire it, while the Fathers of the City wept. But every one stretch'd out his hand for the Oaken Garland, which was the Reward of him that had saved the Life of a Citizen. Afterwards the eternal glory of the Imperial Family.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Severity of the Censors.

1. *Of Camillus and Posthumius towards the Batchelours.*
2. *Of Valerius Maximus and C. Junius Brutus*
3. *toward Antonius.*
4. *Of Cato toward Flamininus.*
5. *Of Fabricius toward Rufinus.*

5. *Of*

5. *Of M. Ant. and L. Flac-
cus toward Domitius.*
6. *Of Nero and Salinator
to themselves and to the
People of Rome.*
7. *Of Messala and Sem-
pronius to the four hun-
dred Knights.*
8. *Of M. Regulus and P.
Philus toward the re-
mains at Cannæ.*
9. *Who after they were
blemisht came to the Cen-
sorship.*

THe most indissoluble Cord of Military Discipline, and the strict observation of the same, admonish me to pass from thence to the Censorship, the Mistress and Guardian of Peace. For as the wealth of the People of *Rome*, by vertue of their Commanders, increas'd to such a vastness; so their Modesty, Continency and Conversations were examin'd by the Censors Severity. A work equalling the glory of Military Actions. For what avails it to be courageous abroad, and live ill at home? To take Cities, conquer Nations, and lay violent hands on Kingdoms, unless there be Reverence, Justice and Honour in the Courts of Law and Council? For unless that be, Riches heap'd unto the Sky will have no stable Foundation. Necessary it is therefore to know these things, and to record the Acts of the Censors Authority.

1. *Camilus* and *Posthumius*, being Censors, commanded them that lived unmarried till they were old, to bring a sum of Money into the Treasury by way of Penalty: deeming them worthy of further punishment, if they should complain of so just a Constitution. Justly taxing them for not observing the Law of Nature in begetting, seeing they had receiv'd Natures benefit in being born. Seeing also that their Parents, by bringing them up, had oblig'd them to a debt of continuing thir Off-spring. To this they added, that Fortune had given um a long time to exercise that Duty, and yet they to deprive themselves of the name both
of

of a Father and a Husband. Go therefore, said they, and pay that which may be useful to the numerous Posterity of others.

2. This Severity *M. Valerius Maximus* and *C. Jernius Bubulcus Brutus* imitating in a punishment of the same nature, put *L. Antonius* out of the Senate, for that he had repudiated a Virgin, whom he had married without consulting any of his Friends. But whether this Crime were greater than the former, I know not well to determine: though this may be said, that by the former the sacred Rites of Matrimony were only condemn'd, by the latter injur'd. With great prudence therefore the Censors thought him unworthy to have admission into the Senate.

3. Thus *Portius Cato* removed *L. Flaminius* out of the number of the Senators, for that he had in his Province caused a condemn'd person to loose his Head, choosing the time of execution at the will and for the sight of a Woman with whom he was in love. He might have been forborn in respect of the Consulship which he had born, and the authority of his Brother *T. Flaminius*. But the Censor and *Cato* to shew a double example of Severity, thought him the rather to be degraded, because he had with so notorious and foul a crime defid the Majesty of so great and high an Authority; and that he had thought it a slight matter, to give the same respect to the eyes of an Harlot delighted with humane Blood, and the suppliant hands of King *Philip*.

4. Why should I mention the Censorship of *Fabricius Luscius*? All ages have told us, and will still declare to us, that *Cornelius Rufinus* was by him turn'd out of the Senate, because he had bought some Silver Household-stuff, to the value of ten Pounds, as affording a bad example of Luxury.

5. *M. Antonius* and *L. Flaccus* removed *Durocius* from

from the Senate, because he had abrogated a Law, whereby the costs of Banquets was limited, with very good reason for so doing. For how impudently did *Duronius* in the Pulpits for Orations utter these words! *There are bridles put into your mouths, most worthy Senators, by no means to be endured. Ye are bound and hamper'd in the bitter shackles of Servitude. For there is a Law made, that ye ought to be frugal. Let us abrogate therefore that command, so deformed with the rust of nasty Antiquity. For what need of Liberty, if they that will kill themselves with Luxury, may not?*

6. Let us now produce a pair, linked together with the same Chain of Virtue, and society in goodness, yet dissenting when they came to be struck with the hook of Emulation. *Claudius Nero*, and *Livius Salinator*, in the second *Punick*-war, strong supports of the Commonwealth; yet how divided was their Censorship! For when they numbered the Centuries of the Horse, of which number, by reason of the strength of their years, they themselves were, when they came to the *Polian* Tribe, the Cryer seeing the name of *Salinator*, began to doubt with himself whether he should call him or no; which when *Nero* understood, he caused his Colleague not onely to be cited, but to sell his horse, because he was condemned by the judgement of the people. *Salinator* also prosecuted *Nero* with the same severity, giving this for a reason: Because he had not sincerely returned into Friendship with him. To whom if any of the Celestial Deities had signified that they in a long series of posterity should lay the foundation of our Guardian Princes Family, they would soon have entered into a strict League of indissoluble kindness, being such as were to leave their preserved Country to thirty divided Off-spring. But *Salinator* adventured to cast thirty four Tribes among the *Ærarii*, because that having condemned him, they afterwards

terwards made him Consul and Censor, pretending they must either be guilty of very great rashness or perjury. The *Matian* Tribe onely he left void of disgrace, who by their Suffrages judged him neither to merit Condemning, or worthy of Honour. How constant and resolute a Genius had that man? who neither by the sad event of Condemnation, nor by the multiplication of Honour, could be brought to carry himself otherwise than severely in the Administration of the Commonwealth!

7. Four hundred Young-men also of the Order of Knighthood, being a great part thereof, patiently underwent the Censors Mark of disgrace; all which *M. Valerius*, and *P. Sempronius*, taking their horses from 'um, reduced into the Order of *Ærarii*, for that being commanded to work at the Entrenchments, they neglected to go.

8. Shameful Cowardise was likewise by the Censors severely punished: For *Attilius Regulus*, and *Furius Philus*, caused the *Questor Metellus*, and several *Roman* Knights, to be degraded among the *Ærarii*, taking their horses from 'um, because that after the overthrow at *Cannæ*, they had made a resolution to leave *Italy*; setting a great mark of Infamy upon them for another thing. For being taken by *Hannibal*, and afterwards by him sent as Embassadors for exchange of Prisoners, because they could not obtain their request, they would not return: but it was convenient for all of *Roman* blood to keep their Faith, wherefore *Regulus* the Censor noted them for Perjury; whose Father rather chose to suffer utmost torment, than break his word with the *Carthaginians*. This Censorship translated it self out of the City into the Camp, which would that the Enemy should neither be teared nor deceived.

9. Two Examples, being alike, we have thought fit

to adde. *C. Geta* being remov'd by *L. Metellus* and *Cn. Domitius* Censors from the Senate, was afterwards made Censor himself.

Also *M. Valerius Messala* having been disgraced by the Censor, was afterward advanced to the Censors place. For such Disgrace sharpens Virtue: Shame stirring them up to use all their endeavors to become worthy Citizens, to whom the Censorship ought to be rather offer'd, than taken from them.

C H A P. X.

*Of Majesty.**Of the ROMANS.*

1. *Q. Metellus Numidicus before the Judges.*
2. *Of the Elder Africanus before Antiochus, and others.*
3. *Of Æmilius Paulus among the Macedonians.*
4. *Of the Greater Africanus to the King Massinissa and Carthaginians.*
5. *Of Rutilius the Exile a-*

mong the Cities of Asia.

6. *Of Marius proscrib'd among the Minturnians.*
7. *Of Cato Uticensis in the Senate.*
8. *The same towards the People of Rome.*

Of FORRAINERS.

1. *Harmodius and Aristogiton to Xerxes.*
2. *Xenocrates among the Athenians.*

THere is also that Majesty among Illustrious Men, as it were a private Censorship, without the Honour of Tribunals, without the attendance of Officers, powerful in the obtaining of Greatness.

1. For what greater Honour could be given to any one, than what was given to *Metellus*, though he stood accus'd

accus'd of a Crime. For when he pleaded for himself upon a charge of Bribery, and his Accompts were demanded by his Accusers, and were brought forth to be inspected, the whole Council refused to look upon them, lest they should seem to doubt of the truth of any thing that was therein contained. For the Judges lookt upon the Life of so great a man, as an argument that he had prudently administr'd the Common-wealth. And thought it an unworthy thing, to ballance a little Wax and a few Writings with the Integrity of so famous a Person.

2. But what wonder, that due honour was given to *Metellus* by his Fellow-citizens, which an enemy did not refrain to render to the Elder *Africanus*? For *Antiochus*, in the War which he made against the *Romans*, having taken his Son Prisoner, not onely honourably entertained him, but also sent him to his Father, laden with Royal Gifts, though he were then almost driven out of his Kingdom by him. But the enraged King rather chose to reverence the Majesty of so great a man, than revenge his own misfortune. To the same *Africanus* being retired to his Country-house in the Village of *Liternium*, several Captains of Pirates being in the same place, came to see him: He believing they came to do him some mischief, placed a Guard of his Domestick Servants upon the top of his house, being well prepared with force and courage to beat them off. Which when the said Captains perceived, immediately sending back their Souldiers, and throwing their Arms away, they approach to the Lord, declaring themselves to be his friends, requesting the sight and company of so great a man, as it had been a favour from Heaven, and desiring him to vouchsafe them the secure spectacle of his greatness. Which words when the Servants related to *Scipio*, he commanded the doors to be unlock'd, and the Captains to be let in; who reveren-

cing the Threshold as it had been some sacred Altar, or Religious Temple, with great eagerness approached to kiss his hands. And after they had spent a long time in admiration of him, leaving great Gifts in the Porch, such as they us'd to offer to the Immortal Gods, they departed to their Ships. What could be more noble than this effect and fruit of Majesty? What more pleasing to behold or enjoy? His enemy appear'd their wrath with admiration. His Presence stupified the joyful eyes of the Pyrats. Should the Stars falling from Heaven offer themselves to men, they could not be capable of greater adoration.

3. This hapned to *Scipio* being alive; this other to *Æmilius Paulus* being dead. For when his Funerals were celebrated, and that by chance certain Princes of *Macedon* were then abiding at *Rome* as Embassadors to the Senate, they willingly offer'd themselves to carry the Funeral Bed. Which will seem so much the greater Honour, considering that the forepart of the Bier was adorn'd with the Trophies of his *Macedonian* Conquests. For how great must be the honour which they gave to *Paulus*, whom they would not refuse to carry, with the Ensignes of their own calamity in the face of all the people! Which Spectacle added to his Funeral a resemblance of another Triumph. For thus did *Macedon* render thee, O *Paulus*, illustrious twice in our City: by their Spoils, safe and victorious; venerable in his Death, by their Shoulders.

4. Nor was it a small honour done to thy Son *Scipio Æmilianus*, whom thou giving in Adoption, wouldst have to be the Ornament of two Families. For being but a Young-man, and sent by *Lucullus* the Consul out of *Spain* into *Africa*, the *Carthaginians* and *Massinissa* made him Arbitrator of the conditions of Peace, as if he had been Consul and Emperour. *Carthage* ignorant of her Destiny: For that very glory

of aspiring Youth, by the indulgence of Gods and Men, was preserv'd for the ruine of that City. Inasmuch that being taken, it gave him the Sirname of *Africanus*; being destroyed, it occasion'd the rise of the *Cornelian* Family.

5. What more miserable than Condemnation and Exile? Yet the Conspiracy of the Publicans could not avail to diminish the Authority of *Publius Rutilius*. Who going into *Asia*, all the Cities of that Province, hearing where he was retir'd, sent their Ambassadors to attend him. Who could now judge him an Exile, but rather a Triumpher in such a place?

6. *Marius* also, being cast down into the depth of utmost Misery, escap'd out of the jaws of danger, by the benefit of his Majesty. For a publick Slave, a *Cimbrian* by his Country, being sent to kill him, as he lay shut up in a private House in *Minturnum*, durst not attempt him, with his Sword drawn, though an old Man, unarm'd, and almost famish'd; but struck blind with the brightness of his Countenance, he flung away his Sword, and astonish'd and trembling ran away. For the Slaughter of the *Cimbrians* presented it self before his eyes; and the Calamity of his vanquish'd Nation quell'd his Courage. The Immortal Gods deeming it an unworthy thing, that *Marius* should be slain by one single person of a Nation, who had subdued the whole. The *Minturnians* also taken with the Majesty of his Person, though now under the burthen of Misery, and unavoidable Destiny, yet preserv'd him safe: Nor could the most severe Victory daunt them, for fear lest *Sylla* should revenge their preservation of *Marius*; though *Marius* himself might have been sufficient to deter them from preserving *Marius*.

7. The admiration also of the stout and vertuous Life of *Percius Cato*, render'd him so wonderful to the Senate,

Senate, who having prefix'd a day for the Publicans to answer, contrary to *Cæsar's* will, and being therefore by his command carried by the Lictor to Prison, the whole Senate was not ashamed to follow him; which thing did not a little soften the perseverance of his divine Soul.

8. At another time, the same person beholding the Floral Plays which *Missus* the *Ædil* set forth, the people were ashamed to require that the Mimicks should appear naked; which when he understood from *Favonius*, his great friend, that fate close by him, he departed out of the Theatre, lest his presence should interrupt the custome of the Show. Whose departure the people loudly applauding, renewed the ancient custome of Jestting in the Scenes; confessing that they attributed more to the Majesty of one man, than they claimed for the sake of the Generality. To what Riches, to what Power, to what Triumphs, was this priviledge granted before? A small Patrimony, Manners restrain'd within the bounds of Continence: a small train of Followers, a house shut against Ambition: One Image of his Paternal Genealogy; not the most comely Aspect, but a Vertue hightned with all perfections. Hence it was, that whoever would Characterize a just and famous Citizen, described him by the name of a *Cato*.

EXTERNAL.

1. We must give some place also to Forraign Examples, that being mix'd with those of our own Nation, the variety may be the more delightful. *Xerxes* having taking the City of *Athens*, carried away the brazen Statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, who endeavoured to free that City from Tyranny; which a long time after *Seleucus* taking care to return to their proper places, when they came into the Haven of

Rhodes, the *Rhodians* inviting them that brought them into their City, laid the Statues upon the sacred Cushions of the Gods. Nothing more happy than such a Memory, that gave so large a Veneration to a little Brass.

2. How great Honour was also given by the *Athenians* to *Xenocrates*, famous for his equal Piety and Wisdom ! who when he approached the Altar, being necessitated to give his testimony in confirmation that all which he had spoken was truth; all the Judges rose and forbid him openly to take his Oath, believing it proper to grant that to his Sincerity, which they were not to remit to themselves in the place of giving Sentence.

LIB. III.

CHAP. I.

Of Towardlines.

Examples whereof among the Romans in

1. *Emilius Lepidus, a boy.*
2. *Cato of Utica.*

3. *Cassius Longinus.*

EXTERNAL in

1. *Alcibiades the Athenian.*

I Will now touch upon some certain Infancies and Elements of Vertue, and of a Soul that in process of time is to advance to the top of Glory: Relating the fables thereof given from the certain Experiments of Towardlines.

1. *Emilius Lepidus*, yet a boy, going into the field, kill'd an Enemy, and sav'd a Citizen; in memory of which action there is in the Capitol a Statue garnish'd and girt with a Senator's virile Robe, by order of the Senate placed there; esteeming it unjust that he should not be of age for Honour, that was so ripe in Vertue. *Lepidus* prevented what was to Age ordained, by his Celerity in doing bravely; carrying away a double Honour out of the Battel, of which his years scarce admitted him to be a spectator: For the Arms of men preparing for Combat, drawn Swords, the flight of Darts, the noise of Horse-men charging, the furious violence of Armies joyning, strikes terrour into young men.

men. Among all which the childhood of the *Emilian* Family was able to deserve a Crown, by carrying away the spoils of his Enemy.

2. This Courage was not wanting in the Childhood of *M. Cato*: For he being bred up in the house of *M. Drusus* his Uncle, the *Latins* came to him then Tribune of the people, requesting a City. At which time the boy being requested by *Poppedius* Prince of the *Latins*, lying at *Drusus* house, to speak on their behalf to his Uncle, with an unmov'd countenance made answer, He would not: and being again and again importun'd, continu'd in his resolve. Then *Poppedius* taking him up into the highest part of the house, threatned to throw him down headlong, unless he would yield to his request; but nothing could make him alter his mind: Which made them cry out, *Happy is it for us Latins, and Allies, that this is but a Youth, from whom we see a Senator, it were impossible for us to obtain our Petition.* For in his tender mind *Cato* retain'd the Gravity of the whole Court; and by his perseverance frustrated the *Latins*, who had a desire to learn the Laws and Customs of our City.

The same person coming in his Virile Robe to kiss the hand of *Sylla*, and seeing the heads of the proscribed persons brought into the Porch of his house, moved with the horridness of the Spectacle, asked his School-master *Sarpedon*. Why there was no body to be found that would kill so great a Tyrant? Who making answer, That men wanted not will, but opportunity, his person being so strongly guarded; The Lad desired he might have a Sword given him, affirming, He could easily kill him, as being wont to sit upon his bed-side. His master perceiv'd his courage, but would not allow of his intention; and afterwards always brought him to *Sylla* to be examined. Nothing than this more admirable. A Lad taken in the Work-house

of Cruelty, fear'd not a Victor, who at that time murder'd Consuls, whole Towns, Legions, and the greatest part of the Order of Knighthood. Had *Marius* been in his place himself, he would have sooner consult'd his own safety, than the Death of *Sylla*.

3. Whose Son *Fautus* had a good Cuff on the Ear given him by *C. Cassius*, his School fellow, for saying in vindication of his Father's Proscriptions, that had he been a Man, he would have done the same. A worthy hand, that would not embroe it self in the blood of his Country.

EXTERNAL.

1. And to repeat something of the *Grecians*, that *Alcibiades*, whose Vertues or whose Vices were most pernicious to his Country, we cannot say; for with the one he deceiv'd his Citizens, with the other he oppress'd um : He being a Youth, and coming to his Uncle *Pericles*, and beholding him sitting melancholy in a private place, ask'd him, why he shew'd so much trouble in his Countenance. Who replying, that he had by command of the City built the Out-gates of the Castle of *Minerva*, and was not able to give any accompt of the vast Treasure spent in the service, and that therefore he was troubled : Rather should you endeavour, said the Boy, to finde out a way, how you should give no accompt. Thus a most great and wise man, not able to counsel himself, follows the advice of a Child, and so order'd it, that the *Athenians* engaged in a sharp War with their Neighbours, had no time to look after Accompts. But let the *Athenians* consider, whether they had most reason to lament or be glad for the Birth of *Alcibiades*; whose Stories fluctuate in a doubtful opinion between admiration and detestation of the person.

CHAP. II.

Of Fortitude.

ROMAN Examples
whereof are

1. M. Horatius Cocles.
2. Celia the Virgin.
3. Romulus.
4. A. Cornelius Cossus.
5. M. Marcellus.
6. The Duellers, T. Manlius Torquatus, M. Valerius Corvus, and P. Scipio Æmilianus.
7. C. Atilius.
8. The Roman Knights at the Battle of Verrugo.
9. The same in the Fight against the Samnites.
10. The Roman Souldiers in holding in the Punic Fleet.
11. A Roman Souldier at the Battle at Cannæ.
12. Q. Lucinius Crassus Proconsf.
13. Q. Metellus Scipio Proconsf.
14. M. Cato of Urica.
15. Porcia.
16. M. Cato Son of the great Cato.
17. Scipio Nasica.
18. Emilius Scaurus.
19. Julius Cæsar Proconsf.
20. Three Souldiers, Vibius Acceus, Valerius Flaccus, T. Pedanius.
21. Q. Cotius Achilles.
22. C. Atilius.
23. Cælius Scæva.
24. L. Sicinius Dentatus.

FORRAIN.

1. Jubellius of Campania.
2. Gobrias the Persian.
3. Leonidas the Spartan.
4. Othryadas the Spartan.
5. Epaminondas a Theban.
6. Theramenes of Athens.
7. Theogenes of Numan-tium.
8. The Wife of Asdrubal.
9. Harmonia the Daughter of King Gelo.

Having

HAVING done with the beginnings and growth of Vertue, we will now prosecute the act it self, whose most ponderous force and efficacious nerves consist in Fortitude. Nor am I ignorant, Great Founder of our City, *Romulus*, that the first honour of this nature ought to be assign'd to thee: but first suffer me, I beseech thee, to prevent thee with an Example, to which thou thy self dost owe something of admiration; seeing that without the benefit thereof *Rome* it self, thy own work, had not become so famous.

1. The *Hetrurians* making an irruption into the City over the *Sublician* Bridge, *Horatius Cocles* kept the farther end thereof, and with an indetangible Fight sustain'd the whole body and force of the Enemy, till the Bridge was broken behind him; and when he saw his Countrey freed from imminent danger, flung himself armed into *Tibur*; whose Fortitude the Immortal Gods admiring, rewarded him with a safe coming off. Being neither hurt with the height of the Fall, nor the weight of his Armour, nor touch'd with the Darts that flew upon every side of him. And thereby he drew the eyes of all his Fellow-citizens, of all his Enemies upon his own single person; the one amazed with admiration, the other in a trance between joy and fear. And separated two great Armies closely engaged; repelling one, and defending the other. And lastly, by his single Strength was as great a guard to our City with his Shield, as *Tibur* with her Channel. And therefore the *Hetrurians* departing might well say, They had vanquish'd the *Romans*, but were beaten by one *Horatius*.

2. *Clelia* makes me almost forgetful of my purpose: Daring a most noble Enterprize at the same time, against the same Enemy, and in the same *Tibur*. For being given in Hostage among other Virgins to Por-

senus,

fenna, she escap'd the Watch in the Night-time, and getting a horse, she presently got to the River, which she swam over; freeing her Country not onely from a Siege, but from fear of danger, holding out a Light of Vertue to men.

3. I now return to *Romulus*, who being provoked to Combat by *Acro* King of the *Ceniceses*, though he believed himself Superiour both in the number and courage of his Souldiers, and that it was safer for him to fight with his whole Army than in single Combat, with his own right hand he snatch'd away the Omen of Victory: nor did fortune fail his undertaking; for having slain *Acro*, and vanquished his Enemies, he brought away rich spoils and trophies, which he offered to *Jupiter Feretrius*. For which let this suffice: for Vertue consecrated by publick Religion, needs no private praise.

4. Next to *Romulus* is *Cornelius Cossus*, who consecrated his spoils to the same Deity, when being Master of the Horse, when he had slain the Captain of the *Fidenates* in battel. Great was *Romulus* in the beginning of this commenced Glory: and much was gained by *Cossus*, for that he would imitate *Romulus*.

5. Nor ought we to separate the memory of *M. Marcellus* from these Examples, in whom there was to great a courage, that he set upon the King of the *Gauls* environ'd with a great Army neer the River *Po*, onely with a few Horsemen, whose head he presently cut off, and spoil'd him of his arms, which he dedicated to *Jupiter Feretrius*.

6. The same Vertue, and the same manner of Combat *T. Manlius Torquatus*, *Valerius Corvus*, and *Emilianus Scipio*, made use of: for they voluntarily challeng'd the Captains of the Enemy, and slew them; but because they did those actions under the command of others, they did not dedicate their spoils to *Jupiter Feretrius*.

The

The same *Scipio Emilianus*, being in *Spain* under the command of *Lucullus*, at the same time that *Intercaria* a strong Town was besieged, was the first that got upon the Walls. Neither was there any person in the whole Army, considering his Nobility, his hopeful Youth, and future Acts, whose safety ought to have been more regarded and consulted. But then the most noble Young men, to enlarge and defend their Country, sustain'd the greatest pains and perils; deeming it below themselves to excel in Dignity and not in Virtue. Therefore *Emilianus* chose a Warlike life, which others for the hazard thereof avoid.

7. Among these, Antiquity offers a most famous Example of Fortitude. The *Romans* being overthrown by the Army of the *Gauls*, and forced to retire into the Capitol; and well knowing the Walls of their Fortresses not able to receive their whole number, took a necessary resolution to leave their old people in the open City, that the young men might be the better enabled to defend what was left. Yet at that most miserable and calamitous season, was not our City forgetful of their pristine Virtue: for though deprived of their Honour, they sat with their doors open, in their Running-chairs, with the Habits of their Magistracy and Priesthood, that in their night of sorrow they might retain the Splendor and Ornaments of their past life, and might encourage the people more courageously to undergo the burthen of their Calamity. Their Aspect was Venerable in the sight of their Enemies, who were not a little moved at the Novelty of what they saw, considering the magnificence of their Ornaments, and their strange kinde of boldness. But who could imagine, but that the *Gauls*, now Victors, would soon have turn'd their admiration into Laughter, and into all manner of Contumely? Therefore *Gaius Attilius* would not stay to expect that injury;
for

for he fiercely laid his Stick cross the pate of a *Gaul* that too familiarly stroaked his Beard, offering his body freely to the Souldier that out of madnes came rushing to kill him. Thus Vertue knows not how to be taken, and Patience knows no disgrace. To yield to Fortune it accompts sadder than any death; and it invents new and generous kinds of perishing, if he may be said to perish that comes to such an end.

8. We are now to give due honour and glory to the *Roman* Youth, who when *C. Sempronius Attarinus*, Consul, had fought with ill success at the battel of *Verrago*, against the *Volsci*, left our Battel just upon the point of flying, should receive a Rout, dismounting from their Horses, immediately rallied into foot-companies, and broke the Enemies Ranks; who being thus forced to retire, the *Roman* Youth possessed themselves of the next Hills, and so ordered it, that the *Volsci* turning all their Force upon them, were the cause that our Legions got in the mean time a very great refreshment to confirm their Courage. And thus while they thought of obtaining the Trophies, the night separated both Armies, uncertain whether they parted Victors or vanquish'd.

9. A noble Flower of the Order of Knighthood was he also, by whose wonderful Fortitude *Fabius Maximus Rullianus*, Master of the Horse, was acquitted of a Crime which he was like to have fallen into, of loosing a Battel to the *Samnites*: For *Papyrius Cursor* being gone to the City to renew the inspection of Entrails, he was left chief Commander in his absence: And although he were doubtful of leading the Army out to battel, yet at length joyning battel with the Enemy, he fought not so unsuccessfully as rashly: For without question he had the worst. At which the Young Nobility pulling the bridles off their horses, spurr'd them with all their might against the very fa-

ces

ces of the Enemy, by an obstinate Gallantry restoring a Victory wrung out of the hands of the Enemy, and the hope of *Rullianus*, which his Country now conceived of his being the greatest of our Citizens.

10. But of what a prodigious strength were those Souldiers, who wading the slippery Sea as they had been on firm Land, hal'd back the *Punic* Fleet by main strength to the shore, though endeavouring to fly with the labour of all their Oars?

11. About the same time, and of the same repute was that Souldier, who at the Battel of *Cannæ*, where *Hannibal* rather brake the power than the courage of the *Romans*, when his wounded hands were unable to hold his Arms, grasping a *Numidian* about the neck that came to strip him, he bit off his Ears and his Nose, expiring in the midst of that revenge. An odde kinde of Event in fight, where the party killed is stronger than he that kills him: For the *Carthaginian* liable to revenge, joyc'd the dying person, and the *Roman* was his Revenger at the very conclusion of his life.

12. *Publius Crassus* making War in *Asia* with *Aristonicus*, being set upon by the *Thracians*, of which he had a great number for his assistance, between *Smyrna* and *Elea*; for fear he should come into their power, he avoided the shame by resolving to die: For he thrust his Riding-rod into the eye of one of the *Barbarians*, who enraged with the pain thereof, thrust *Crassus* into the side with his Cutlace; and while he revenges himself, freed the *Roman* Emperour from the shame of having lost his Honour. *Crassus* shewed Fortune that she intended to have punished a person altogether unworthy of so great an Indignity, as being one that not only prudently but courageously broke the snares which she had laid to entrap his Liberty, and restored his own Dignity to himself, although now given to *Aristonicus*.

13. The same resolution *Scipio* made use of, who having unsuccessfully endeavour'd to defend the cause of *Pompey* his Son-in-Law in *Africa*, endeavour'd to fly into *Spain*; but understanding that the Ship wherein he was, was taken by the Enemy, he ran himself through, and so falling down upon the Poop, when *Cesar's* Souldiers asked for their Commander, he made answer, The Commander is well: having power only to speak so much as to testify, to his eternal praise, the Greatness of his Minde.

14. Not less the Monument of *Utica* were thy last breathings, mighty *Cato*; out of whose Wounds flowed more Glory than Blood. For with a fierce Constancy lying upon the Sword, thou wert a most noble Example of Instruction, That to all good Men Dignity and Honour without Life, is far better than Life without Honour.

15. Whose Daughter had no Womanish Spirit: Who knowing the resolution that her Husband *Brutus* had taken to kill *Cesar*, the night before the day wherein that most horrid act was committed, as soon as *Brutus* was gone out of the Chamber, she call'd for a Razor, pretending to pare her Nails; and as if he had let it fall by chance, gave her self a Wound therewith. Upon the cry of the Maids *Brutus* coming in, began to chide her that she had took the Barber's trade out of his hands. To whom she privately whisper'd, This is no rash action of mine; but as things now stand, a most certain proof of my Love towards thee. For I was resolv'd to try, if thy purpose should not succeed according to thy desire, how bravely and patiently I could kill my self.

16. More happy in his Offspring was the Elder *Cato*, out of whose Loins sprang the Family of *Porcius*. Who being in battle sorely press'd upon by his Enemy, his Sword fell out of the Scabbard; which though he
saw

saw encompass'd with such numbers of his Enemies, yet such was his obstinacy to recover it, that he would not give over, till he had done it: so that at length he seem'd not to have wrung it out of the hands of danger, but to take it up in security. Which sight so terrified his Enemies, that the next day they came to him to beg for Peace.

17. The Fortitude of the Gown may be mixt with Warlike Actions, deserving the same honour in Courts of Justice as in the Camp. When *T. Gracchus*, having got the favour of the People by his profuseness, endeavour'd to oppress the Common-wealth, and openly declar'd, that the Senate being put to death, all things ought to be transacted by the People; The Senate being summon'd into the Temple of Faith by *Mucius Scaevola* Consul, began to consult what at such a time to do: and all being of opinion, that the Consul ought to govern the Common-wealth by force of Arms, *Scaevola* denied that he would do any thing by force. Then replyed *Scipio Nasica*, Because (saith he) the Consul, while he follows the course of Law, doth that which will bring both the Law and all the Roman Empire in jeopardy; I as a private person offer my self to be commanded, and to command according to your Will. Then lapping his left hand in his upper Coat, and lifting up his right, he openly proclaim'd, *They who desire the safety of the Common-wealth, let us follow me*: at which words being followed without delay by the honest part of the Citizens, he brought *Gracchus* to the Punishment which he deserved.

18. Also when *Saturninus* Tribune of the people, the Pretor *Glancia*, and *Equitius* designed Tribune of the people, had rais'd most terrible Seditions in our City, and no body durst oppose themselves against the fury of the people; *Emilius Scaurus* was the first that advis'd *C. Marius* the sixth time Consul, that he should defend

defend the Laws and Liberty by the Sword; and presently commanded Arms to be brought, and being come, put them upon his aged body, now almost quite wasted with Age; and then leaning upon his Dart, stood before the door of the Council-house; with the small remnants of his life, keeping the Commonwealth from expiring: For the constancy of his mind encouraged the Senate and the whole Order of Knighthood to revenge.

19. But as we have hitherto related the Fortitude of Arms and Arts, let us remember the sacred *Jidius*, the chief Glory of all the Stars, the truest Pattern of Vertue. When he saw his men almost fainting through the innumerable multitude and fury of the *Nerue*, taking a Shield out of a Souldiers hand, that he beheld fighting but weakly, he began under the covert thereof to behave himself with great Vigour; by which act he infused Courage into the whole Army, and restored the tottering fortune of the Battel. The same person seeing the Eagle-bearer of the *Martian* Legion with his back turn'd in a posture of flight, catching him by the Jaws he brought him back to his place again; and then stretching his right hand toward the Enemy, he cry'd out, *Why dost thou go this way? yonder is the Enemy which thou art to fight with.* Thus with his hands one Souldier, with his severe reprehension, corrected the timorousness of all the Legions, and taught them who were ready to be overcome, how to vanquish.

20. But that we may proceed to one act of Manly Vertue: When *Hannibal* besieged the *Roman* Army in *Capua*, *Vibius Accens*, Colonel of the *Pelignian* Cohort, threw an Ensigne over the *Carthaginian* Rampire, cursing himself and his fellow-Souldiers if ever they let the Enemy enjoy it; and so to recover it again, he was the first that made the Assault, the whole Cohort following him: Which when *Valerius Flaccus*, a Tribune

of

of the third Legion, turning to his own, said, *I see we are come here to be Spectators of other mens Vertue; but far be it from us to suffer the Glory of the Romans to give place to the Valour of the Latins. For my own part, I desire either an honourable death, or a happy Issue of my venturousness; therefore am resolved to fall on though I am alone.* These words being heard, *Pedanius* the Centurion catching up the Ensigne, and holding it in his right hand, *Thus*, said he, *shall be with me within the Enemies Rampire: Let them follow that are unwilling it should be taken.* With that he flew into the *Carthaginian* Camp, drawing the whole Legion after him. Thus the courageous Temerity of three men, made *Hannibal* who thought himself Master of *Capua*, hardly to be safe in his own Camp.

21. Neither was *Q. Curius* any thing behinde them in Fortitude; who for his stoutness was surnamed *Achilles*: For not to reckon up all his famous Actions, we shall make appear by two Achievements onely, how great a Warriour he was. In the time that *Metellus* was Consul, he was sent a Legate into *Spain*, carrying on the *Celtiberian* War as Lieutenant under the Consul: hearing that he was challenged out to fight by a certain Young man of that Nation, though he were then just going to Dinner, he caused his Arms and his Horse to be privately conveyed out of the Camp, lest the Consul should forbid him, or otherways hinder him; and following the *Celtiberian*, that was vauntingly curvetting to and fro about the field, slew him, and taking the spoils of his dead Enemy, return'd Triumphant to the Camp. He also compelled *Piresius*, one of the most noble and stoutest among the *Celtiberians*, who also gave him a particular Challenge, to yield to him: Nor was the noble Youth asham'd to give him his own Sword and Souldiers Coat in the view of both Armies. And also requested, that so soon

as there was Peace between the *Celiberians* and the *Romans*, that there might be a strict League of Friendship between them.

22. Nor must we pass by *C. Attilius*; who being a Souldier of the tenth Legion, and fighting on *Cæsar's* behalf in a Sea-engagement, when they had cut off his right hand with which he held a Ship of the *Maffilians*, took hold of the Vessel with his left: nor did leave fighting till the Ship was taken and sunk. The Valour also of *Cynægyrus* the *Athenian*, whose pertinacy in pursuit of the Enemy was not unlike this, Greece so fluent in extolling the Praises of her own Hero's, has sufficiently inculcated into the memory of Posterity.

23. The Naval-glory of *Attilius*, requires that we should rehearse the praise of *Cæsius Sæva* a Centurion, under the command of the same Emperors: For he maintaining a Castle which was committed to his charge, and which a Captain of *Pompey's* was sent to take with a great number of men, he slew all that adventured to come near; and fighting afoot with but the least giving back, at length fell upon a vast heap of people that he had slain. His head, shoulders, and thighs were cut and mangled, his eyes poked out, his Target pierced through in a hundred and twenty places. Such Souldiers did the Discipline of Divine *Julius* breed; of which the one with the loss of his right hand, the other with the loss of his eyes, terrified their Enemies: The one after his loss a Victor, the other a looser, yet not vanquished.

But thy invincible Courage, O *Sæva*, in every part of the nature of things, I know not how to extol with admiration enough, because by thy excellent Vertue thou hast left it doubtful, whether thou didst make a more noble Fight at Sea, or speak a more illustrious Speech by Land. For in the War wherein *Cæsar* not con-

content to limit his fame within the bounds of the Ocean, laid his celestial hands upon the Isle of *Britain*, being carried with Four of his Souldiers, and set alhoar upon a Rock near the Land, which the Enemy had possess'd with a very strong Army, after the Ebb, by the falling of the water, had made the passage easie from the Island to the Rock, which was divided before; being assaulted with a very great number of the Barbarians, *Scava* only keeping his station immoveable, the Darts flying about his ears, and the Enemy every way endeavouring to assail him, fix'd in the Bodies of his Adversaries as many Piles with his single right hand, as would have serv'd five Souldiers for a Battle of a whole days continuance: at length, drawing his Sword and beating back his Enemies, sometimes with the Point, and sometimes with the Hilt, he became such a spectacle of Wonder, not only to the *Romans*, but to the *Britains* also, which none but those that beheld it, could have imagin'd. At length, Anger and Shame forc'd them that were tir'd to do their utmost, when he, run through the Thigh, his Face batter'd with Stones, his Head-piece bruised in several places, commits himself to the Sea, and laden with two Coats of Mail, escap'd through the Waves, which he had dyed with the Blood of his Enemies. Coming to his General, not having lost his Arms, but well bestow'd um, when he deserv'd his praise, he begg'd his pardon. Great in fight, but greater in the remembrance of Military Discipline: Therefore by the best Esteemer and Discerner of Virtue, both thy deeds and words were rewarded with the honour of a Centurions command.

24. But let the Memory of *Luc. Sicinius Dentatus* conclude all the *Roman* Examples of the Fortitude of the *Roman* Warriours; whose Deeds, and the Rewards of his Actions, may be thought to exceed the limits of

belief; but for the credit of the Authors, among whom we finde *M. Varro*, who attest the same in their Memorials, whom they affirm to have been in an Hundred and Twenty pitch'd Battels: being end'd with that Courage of Mind and Strength of Body, that he seem'd to carry away the greatest share of the Victory: And of these Battles there were Eight wherein he fought upon Challenges, while both Armies lookt on. He is said to have saved fourteen Citizens, to have received forty five Wounds upon his Breast, not having one Scar upon his Back. He followed nine several Triumphal Chariots of several Generals, drawing the eyes of the whole City that beheld the multitude and pompous glory of his Rewards. For he had eight Golden Crowns, fourteen City- and three Mural-Crowns, together with one Oblational Garland, Chains one hundred eighty three, Bracelets one hundred and sixty, Spears eighteen, Trappings twenty five. Ornaments sufficient for a Legion, rather than for the use of a private Soldier.

FORREIGN.

1. That Blood was also confounded out of many Bodies into one, with great admiration, in the Town of the *Caliber*, where *Fulvius Flaccus* having condemn'd the chief of the City to loose their Heads for their Perfidiousness in *Campania*, and that he was by Letters from the Senate order'd to see execution done; *Jubellius Laureus* a *Campanian* freely offer'd himself to him, crying out as loud as he could, *Because*, said he, *O Fulvius, thou art so desirous of shedding blood, why dost thou delay to sheath thy Sword in my Bowels, that thou maist have an occasion to boast, that thou didst once kill a fonder man than thy self?* Who replying that he would gladly do it, but that he was otherwise order'd by

by the Senate; *Behold me*, then replied the other, upon whom the *Conscript Fathers* have laid no commands, outwardly quiet enough, but meditating a great work in my mind: and immediately killing his Wife and Children, fell upon his own Sword. What kind of person must we believe him to be, who was so willing with the slaughter of himself and his Relations to testify, that he would rather delude the Cruelty of *Fulvius*, than make use of the Mercy of the Senate?

2. Again, how great was the Courage of *Gobrias*, who, when he freed the *Persians* from the fordid and cruel Tyranny of the *Magi*, having thrown one of the *Magi* down in a dark place, and lying with all his weight upon him, and perceiving that one of his Companions in his noble enterprize was afraid to kill the Tyrant, for fear of hurting him, cryed out, *Use not thy Sword ere a whit the less timorously for fear of me; rather thrust it through us both, that this fellow may die the more speedily.*

3. In this place we meet with *Leonidas*, a Noble *Spartan*, than whose *Design*, *Enterprize* and *Issue* there was nothing more courageous. For being placed in the Streights of *Thermopyla* against the whole force of *Asia*, only with Three Hundred of his Citizens, through the obstinacy of his Virtue, he drave *Xerxes* to despair, who a little before was a burthen both to Sea and Land; not only terrible to Men, but one that threatned to chain the Sea, and fetter the Heavens: but being through the perfidiousness of the Inhabitants of that Country deprived of the advantage of the place, he resolv'd to fall, rather than leave the station where his Country had set him. And therefore he exhorted his people with so much cheerfulness to that Battle where they were sure to perish, crying out, *Fellow-souldiers, let us Dine like such as are to Sup in the other world.* Death was all their hopes. yet tear-

less they obeyed their Leader, as sure of Victory.

4. The glorious Battle and Death of *Othryades*, is only seen in the praise, rather than in the larger space of *Thyrese*. Who spoiling the enemy of Victory, by Letters written with his own Blood; after his own fate, would not carry into the bosome of his Country the bloody superscription of his Trophies.

5. But a most sad effort follows the most excellent effects of the *Spartan* Vertue. *Epaminondas*, the chief Felicity of *Thebes*, and the first scourge of the *Lacedæmonian* Valour, when he had broken the antient glory, and till that time invincible publick glory of that City, in the two Battles of *Mantineæ* and *Leuctra*, being run through with a Spear, and fainting for want of Blood and Breath, ask'd those who endeavour'd to recover him, First, whether his Shield were safe; and next, whether the Enemy was quite vanquish'd: Which when he found according to his desire, *Fellow-Souldiers*, said he, *this is not the end, but a fortunate and successful beginning of my life: For your Epaminondas is now born, because he thus dyes. I see Thebes by my Conduct and Command the head of all Greece. The strong and courageous City of Sparta submits, vanquish'd by your Arms, and Greece freed from her bitter Tyranny. Not having Children, yet I die not without Children; I leave Leuctra and Mantineæ behind me.* Then commanding the Spear to be pull'd out of his Body, he expir'd. Whom if the Immortal Gods had suffer'd to enjoy his Victories, a more glorious Redeemer had never enter'd the Walls of any City.

6. Nor was the Constancy of *Theramenes* the *Arbenian* inconsiderable, being compell'd to die in Prison, where without any signe of fear he drank the Potion prepar'd for him by the thirty Tyrants; and smiling upon the publick Officer that brought it; *Tell Crisias*, quoth he, *I drink to him, and therefore take care that*

thou carry him the Cup, as soon as thou canst. Now this *Critias* was the cruellest of all the Tyrants. Certainly it is as easie to free a mans self from punishment, as to endure punishment: and thus *Theramenes*, as if he had died in his Bed, departed this life; by his enemies thought to have been punish'd, in his own opinion yielding only to common fate.

7. But *Theramenes* receiv'd his Constancy from Learning and Education: But the natural Ferity of the people taught *Theogenes* the *Numantine* to take the same course. For the affairs of *Numantium* being in a low and lost condition, himself excelling all others in Wealth, Honour and Nobility, getting a great quantity of combustible matter together, he set his own Street, which was the fairest in the whole City, on fire, and laying a naked Sword in the middl of it, he commanded two persons to fight together, that the Head of him that was kill'd might be cast upon the flames: and having by this strong engagement consum'd every body else, at length he threw himself into the fire.

8. And that I may rehearse the destruction of a City at equal enmity with ours; when *Carthage* was taken, the wife of *Asdrubal* upbraiding him with Impiety for begging onely his own life at *Scipio's* hands, taking her Children which she had by him in her right and left hand, willing to die, she flung her self into the flaming Ruines of her Country.

9. To this Example of female-fortitude, I will adde one stout Casualty of two Virgins. When through the most pestiferous Sedition of the *Syracusians*, the whole Family of King *Gelo*, afflicted with endless Calamities, was reduced to one Virgin-daughter, named *Harmonia*, and that the Enemy made several offers of violence upon her; Her Nurse took a Child somewhat like her, and having dress'd it in royal Apparell

parel, exposed her to the fury of her Enemies; who when she was about to be slain, would not declare her condition. *Harmonica* admiring her condition, and not willing to outlive so much Faith, called back the Murtherers, and confessing who she was, was the cause of her own death. Thus a covert Lye was the bane of the one, the open truth the destruction of the other.

CHAP. III.

Of Patience.

ROMAN Examples,
whereof are two.

1. C. Mutius Cordus, first called *Scævola*.
2. Pompey Embassador to King *Gentius*.
2. Zeno Eleatean,
3. The other Zeno.
4. Anaxarchus Abderite.
5. Theodorus of Syracuse.
6. The Indians.

FORRAIGN.

1. A Macedonian Youth.

7. The African slave condemning Death and Torments.

Fortitude hath been apparent to the eyes of men by the famous Deeds both of men and women: and by her incitement, Patience appears grounded upon as firm foundations, not being endued with a less generous Soul, but so like the one to the other, that she seems to have received her birth either with her or from her.

1. For what has a greater resemblance to what I have formerly related, than the Act of *Mutius*, who grieving to see our City vexed with a long and grievous War,

War, by *Porfenna* King of the *Heturians*, privately got armed into the Camp, endeavour'd to have slain him as he was sacrificing before the Altar : But failing in the Enterprize, and being laid hold on, he neither concealed the cause of his coming; and besides that, with a wonderful patience shew'd how little he fear'd any torment they could put him to : For as it were out of an enmity to his right hand, because he could not use it in the slaughter of the King, he held it in the fire, enduring it to be burnt off. Certainly the Immortal Gods never beheld with more heedful eyes any Offering made them. And it forced *Porfenna* himself, forgetful of the danger, to turn his Revenge into Admiration. Return, quoth he, to thy own Friends, and tell them how I have given thee thy life for seeking mine. Whose Clemency *Mutius* no way flattering, more sorry to see him live, than glad of his own life, return'd to the City with a surname of eternal glory, being called *Scevola*.

2. Most approved also is the Vertue of *Pompey*, who being sent upon an Embassie, and taken by the way by King *Gentius*, and commanded to reveal the Counsels of the Senate, thrust his finger into a burning Candle : which patience of his made the King not onely despair of getting any thing out of him by force, but also very desirous of the friendship of the *Romans*. But lest, while I strive to enumerate more Domestick Examples of this sort, I should be forced to embroyl my self in the relations and stories of our civil Discords, which as they contain the Relation of most famous men, so they renew the publick Grief, I shall pass to those of Forraign Nations.

E X T E R N A L.

According to the ancient Custome of Greece, the
most

most eminent Noblemens Sons did always attend upon King *Alexander* when he sacrificed : Among which there was one who while he stood before the King, holding the Censer, a live cole fell upon his arm, which though it burnt his flesh so vehemently that the stink thereof offended the nostrils of all the standers by, yet the Lad would by no means discover his pain, fearing to disturb the Sacrifice by letting fall the Censer, or to offend the Kings ears by complaining. The King pleased with the patience of the Youth, and willing to make a more certain tryal thereof, prolong'd the Sacrifice beyond his wonted time ; yet nothing would alter the constancy of the Lad. Had *Darius* cast his eyes upon this wonder, he would have known that Souldiers of such a race were not to be overcome, while in their tender age he beheld them endure with such a strength.

There is that vehement and constant Discipline of the Minde, I mean Philosophy excelling in Learning, ruler of the venerable Mysteries of Doctrine, which being receiv'd into the breast of men, they presently lay aside all dishonest and unworthy affections, and being armed with the true weapons of Vertue, advance themselves above all fear and thought of pain.

2. I will begin from *Zeno* of *Eleas* ; who being a most wise observer of the nature of things, and most sedulous to kindle Courage and Vigour in the minds of Youth, purchased Credit to his Precepts by Examples of his own Vertue : For departing his Country, where he might have lived secure in Liberty, he went to *Agrigentum*, then groaning under a most miserable servitude, confiding in his Conversation and Manners, that he was in good hopes to work the Tyrant, though a *Phalaris*, out of the ferity of his rude nature. After some time observing that the Custome of Dominion was more prevalent than wholesome Counsels, he stirr'd

up and inflam'd the minds of the most noble Youth with a desire of recovering their Liberty. Which being reveal'd to the Tyrant, he call'd the People into the Market-place, and in their presence began to punish *Zeno* with most exquisite torments; oftentimes asking him who were his Confederates in the Conspiracy. *Zeno* would name none of them, but only those that were the Tyrants chiefest Friends and Relations; and then upbraiding the *Agrigentines* with their sloath and tear, rais'd such a suddain commotion in their minds, that they fell upon the Tyrant and stoned him to death. It was not the suppliant Voice, the miserable Cries of an Old-man upon the Rack, but his strong and serious exhortation, that chang'd the Courage and Fortune of the whole City.

3. A Philosopher of the same Name, being put upon the Rack by *Nearchus* the Tyrant, whose Death he had conspir'd, did not only appear a Conquerour of his pain and punishment in concealing his Confederates, but shewed himself more covetous of revenge; and theretore telling the Tyrant that he had something to declare, which it was fit that no body else should hear, he was thereupon loosen'd from the Rack, and pretending to whisper in the Tyrants ear, when he saw his time, caught his Ear in his Teeth, nor would let go, till with the loss of his Life, the other had lost a member of his body.

4. *Anaxarchus* imitating the same Patience, and being put upon the Rack by *Nicochreon*, Tyrant of Cyprus, when he could by no means be restrain'd from casting the most bitter taunts and reproaches imaginable against the Tyrant, who at length threatned to cut out his Tongue; *This part of my body neither, quoth he, effeminate Youngman, shall be in thy power*: and presently biting it off with his teeth, when he had sufficiently

ſufficiently chew'd it, he ſpit it into the Tyrants mouth gaping for anger. That tongue wonderfully aſtoniſh'd the ears of many, eſpecially of *Alexander* the King, having before ſo wiſely and eloquently deſcribed the condition of the Earth, the ſituation of the Sea, the Motion of the Stars, and laſtly the Nature of the whole World, Yet he fell more gloriouſly than he liv'd, ſeeing ſuch a courageous conſeſſion approv'd the illuſtriouſneſs of his profeſſion, and beautified with ſuch a noble end. And *Anaxarchus* did not only not forſake living, but render'd his Death more famous.

5. In vain did *Hieronimus* the Tyrant weary the hands of the Executioners with the Tortures of *Theodorus* a moſt eminent perſon. For the Tyrant was forced to break his Whips, looſen the Strings, take him from the Rack, and quench the burning Plates, ere he could make him confeſs his Contederates. At length, by accuſing one of the Tyrants Guard, upon whoſe ſhoulders as upon hinges the whole weight of the Government hung, he ſav'd one of his moſt faithful Friends. And by the benefit of his Patience not only conceal'd the Secrets of the Conſpiracy, but occaſioned his own revenge. For *Hieronimus*, while he covetouſly tears his Enemies' fleſh, rathly loſt his Friend.

6. Among the *Indians* the Exerciſe of Patience is reported to be ſo obſtinately obſerv'd, that there be ſome that go naked all their days, hardening their Bodies in the extreme cold of *Caucasus*, ſometimes walking thorough fire without any complaint. And by this contempt of pain, they gain no ſmall honour, receiving from thence the title of Wiſdom.

7. Such things as theſe ariſe from minds high and fraught with knowledg: but this is no leſs to be admir'd in a Slave.

A Barbarian Slave grieving for the loss of his Master, presently setting upon *Asdrubal*, slew him. And when being apprehended he was tormented all manner of ways, yet he constantly retain'd in his mouth the joy which he had in his revenge. Vertue therefore not excited by the trouble of attaining, suffers her self to be always possess'd by vigorous Ingenuities; nor affords a taste of her self large or thrifty according to the difference of the persons, but being expos'd equally to all, esteems more what it brings of desire than worth: And therefore leaves thee to examine the weight thereof, by the consideration of the benefits receiv'd by her, that thou mayst carry away with thee as much, as thy Courage is able to bear.

C H A P. IV.

Of those who being meanly born, have advanced to great Honours.

Among the ROMANS. 6. M. Porcius Cato.

1. Tullus Hostilius.
2. Tarquinius Priscus.
3. Servius Tullius.
4. Terentius Varro.
5. M. Perperna.

FORREIGN.

1. Socrates *the* Athenian.
2. Euripides and Demosthenes.

HENCE it many times falls out, that Men born of mean Parentage arrive to the highest pitches of Honour and Preferment; and on the contrary, that Men of most Noble Extraction, falling into some disgrace, change that light which they received from their Ancestors into darkness. Which will appear more
apparent

apparent by their Examples. I shall begin with those whose change from low to high degree, affords a kind of pleasing Majesty.

1. A poor Country Cottage entertain'd the Infancy of *Tullus Hostilius*. His Youth was employ'd in keeping sheep, his riper years govern'd the *Roman* Empire, and doubly augmented it; his old age embellish'd with most excellent Ornaments, shinn'd in the highest Pinnacle of Majesty.

2. But *Tullus* though he were great, and admirable in his growing great, yet was he but a private Example. But *Tarquinius Priscus* was by Fortune brought to our City to possess the *Roman* Scepter: A Forrainer, because born at *Corinth*; to be scorn'd, as being begot by *Demaratus* a Merchant; and one to be ashamed of, because his Father was an Exile: But by the prosperous event of his Condition he became industrious, instead of ignominious, glorious instead of being envied. For he extended the bounds of the Empire, and reform'd the Worship of the Gods with new Sacrifices: He increased the number of Senators, and amplified the Order of Knighthood. And what was the perfection of his praises, his most eminent Vertues were such, that the City had no cause to repent that they had rather borrowed a King from her Neighbours than chosen one of her own.

3. But in *Servius Tullius* Fortune shewed her greatest power, by giving us a King born a stranger to this City; who happened to sway the Scepter many years, to appoint a *Lustrum* four times, and to triumph twice. Briefly, whence he came, and how far he proceeded, the Inscription of his Statue sufficiently witnesses, being intrigu'd with a servile Sirname, and a Royal Title.

4. By a strange rise *Varro* ascended to the Consulship, from his fathers Butchers stall: Yet Fortune thought it not enough to bestow the twelve Fases upon

on one brought up by the gains of the most sordid Ware, unless she had given him *Emilius Paulus* to be his Colleague: And she so insinuated her self into his favour, that when by his rashness he had ruined the Power of Rome, at the Battel of *Cannæ*, yet she suffered *Emilius* to be slain, but brought *Varro* safe to Rome: Nay, she brought forth the Senate to meet him without the Gates, and giving him thanks that he would be pleased to return; and so advanced him, that the Dictatorship was allotted to the Author of their greatest Calamity.

5. Nor was *Marcus Perperna* a small disgrace to the Consulship, as being made Consul before he was a Citizen; but in War more profitable to the Commonwealth than *Varro* the General: For he took King *Aristonicus*, and revenged the slaughter of *Crassus* and his Army. Yet was his death, whole life had triumph'd, condemned by the *Papian Law*: for they compelled his Father, not being able to claim the privileges of a Roman Citizen, and prosecuted therefore by *Sabellius*, to return to his Original Station. Thus was the name of *Perperna* clouded, his counterfeited Consulship a kind of Government like a Mist, a fading Triumph, and his Off-spring a Sojourner in a strange City.

6. But the beginnings of *Porcius Cato* were searched for out by publick Vote: Who render'd his name most famous at Rome, which was scarcely known in *Tusculum*. The lasting Monuments of the Latin Tongue were by him adorn'd, Military Discipline reform'd, the Majesty of the Senate increased, his Family establish'd, to which the last *Cato* was no small honour.

FORRAIGN.

1. But to joyn Forraign Examples to the Romans;
Socras

Socrates, not onely by common consent of all persons, but by the Oracle of *Apollo*, judg'd to be the wisest among men, was born of *Phanarete* a Midwife, and *Sophroniscus* a Stone-cutter; yet he came to be one of the most resplendent Lights of Glory, and not undeservedly. For when the Wits of most learned men were bulied in blinde Disputations, and endeavoured to set down and prove the measures of the Sun, Moon, and the rest of the Stars, rather by multiplicity of words, than certain Arguments, (for they undertook to tell the compass of the whole World) he diverted men from these unlearned and unnecessary questions, and taught them to dive into the nature of Man, and the secret Affections that lay hidden in his breast: So that if Vertue be esteem'd for its self, much more such a Master as teacheth the best Rules of life.

2. What Mother *Enripides* had, or what Father *Demesthenes* had, was unknown to the Age they lived in: Yet the most certain opinion of the Learned is, That the Mother of the one sold Pot-herbs, and the Father of the other dealt in Knives. However, what can be more famous than the Tragedies of the one, and the Orations of the other?

C H A P. V.

*Of those who have degenerated, being born
of Noble Ancestors.*

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| 1. <i>The Son of Scipio Africanus.</i> | 3. <i>The Son of Clodius and Fulvia.</i> |
| 2. <i>Q. Fabius, the Son of him, surnamed Allobrogicus.</i> | 4. <i>Marcus Hortensius Corbio.</i> |

HERE follows the second part of a double promise, to be made good by relating the blemishes in the Coats of Illustrious men: Because we are now to relate the stories of those that have degenerated from the glory of their Ancestors.

1. For what could be more like a Monster than the Son of the Elder *Scipio Africanus*? who receiving his beginning from so Illustrious a Family, could endure to suffer himself to be taken by a small party of King *Antiochus*; when it had been better for him to have died a voluntary death, than between two the most famous Surnames; the one obtained by the destruction of *Africk*, and the other got by the Conquest of *Asia*, to suffer his hands to be bound by the Enemy, and to be beholding to his mercy for a pitiful life, over whom *Scipio* was to obtain, in a small time, a Triumph, most glorious in the sight of Gods and men. Coming to claim the Pretorship, he appeared in the field with such a spotted and bedaub'd white Gown, that had it not been for the courtessie of *Cicerus*, who was his Father's Secretary, he would not have obtain'd the honour.

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Though it had been no great matter whether he had a Repulse or a Pretorship so obtain'd; for when the standers by saw what a foul Garment he had on, they were the occasion that he neither durst place his Chair, nor hear Causes. Moreover, they took a Ring off his finger, upon which the head of *Alexander* was engrav'd: Good Gods! from what Thunder did ye suffer so much Darknes to proceed?

2. Again, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the Son of *G. Fabius Maximus*, firnamed *Allobrogicus*, what a luxurious and dissolute life did he lead? whose other Vices to obliterate, yet might his Manners be seen by one act of disgrace, that *Q. Pompey*, the City-Pretor, would not let him meddle with his Father's goods. Neither was there any person in so great a City, that would speak against the Decree: For men grieved to see that that money which was to maintain the splendour of the *Fabian* Family, should be spent in Riot and Excess. Thus he whom his Father's indulgence left his Heir, the publick severity dis-inherited.

3. *Clodius* the fair was in great favour with the people; yet his Wife *Fulvia* wearing a Dagger shew'd that he suffered his warlike Spirit to be subject to the commands of a Woman. Their Son called also by the name of *Clodius* the Fair, beside that he had led a slothful and effeminate life in his Youth, was also infamous for his egregious dotage upon the most common Whores, and died a most shameful death: For his belly being eaten up, he surrender'd his life to the greedy appetite of his own foul intemperance.

4. *Hortensius Corbio* also the Nephew of *Quintus Hortensius*, who in the greatest plenty of ingenious and illustrious Citizens, attain'd the highest degree of Eloquence and Authority, led a life more obscure and fordid, than all the Strumpets put together. At length his Tongue was as common at the pleasure and lust of every

every one in the Bawdy-houses, as his Fathers Oratory was diligently employ'd for the good of his Fellow-Citizens.

C H A P. V I.

Of Illustrious men, that delighted more than ordinary in rich Apparel, and sumptuous adorning themselves.

1. Scipio the Greater.
2. Asiatic Scipio.
3. Cornelius Sylla.
4. C. Dullius.

5. C. Papirius Mafó.
6. C. Marius.
7. M. Cato of Utica.

I Am not ignorant what a dangerous Journey I have undertaken : Therefore I will recall my self, lest while I continue to pursue the remaining Shipwracks and Miscarriages of the same nature, I should intrigue my self in useles Relations : I will therefore retreat, and suffer those deformed shadows to lie hid in the deep Abyss of their own shame ; thinking it more to the purpose to declare what Illustrious Personages have given themselves an unusual liberty in their Habits and Dresses, the Authors of new Customs.

1. *P. Scipio* being in *Sicily*, there intent upon the reinforcing and transporting his Army into *Africa*, as he that minded nothing more than the ruine of *Carthage*, was at the same time accustomed to the *Gymnasium*, and wore a *Pallium*, or long Mantle, and those finer sort of shoes called *Crepide*. Yet did he handle the *Carthaginians* never a whit the more softly for that : For his Divertisement made him more eager,

seeing that strong and active Wits, the more they use Retirement, the more vehement they are in Company. Thereby perhaps he also thought to win the favour of the young Gentry, while he followed their Customes of Habit and Diet. For to those Exercises he applied himself, when he had much and long tired himself, and had constrained his other Limbs to prove their Strength by Military Labours, wearied with the one, recreated with the other.

2. We likewise behold the Statue of *Lucius Scipio* with a *Chlamys* or a short Cloak about his Shoulders, and embroidered Slippers. In which Habit, as he was wont to wear it alive, they cloathed his Effigies.

3. *Lucius Cornelius Sylla* also, when he was Emperor, thought it no disgrace to walk the streets of *Naples* mantled in a Short Cloak, and Embroidered Shoes upon his Feet.

4. *C. Duilius* also, that first triumphed by Sea over the *Carthaginians*, when he had been sailing, was wont to return home with Wax-Torches and Minstrels going before him, causing his noble Success in War to be spread abroad by his Nocturnal Reveling.

5. *Papirius Mafso* also, not being able to obtain a Triumph, though he had signally deserved of the Common-wealth, began a new way of Triumphing in the *Alban* Mountain, and set a precedent for others afterwards to follow. For when he was present at any Shew, he used a Myrtle instead of a Lawrel Crown,

6. Unusual also was the act of *Caius Marius*, who having Triumphed over *Jugurth*, the *Cimbrians*, and *Teutons*, was alwaies used to drink out of a *Cantharus*, or Kan. Because that *Bacchus* returning in triumph out of *Asia* was said to use that sort of Cup; that while he

he drank, he might seem to compare his Victories with those of the God.

7. *Marcus Cato* also, being *Prætor*, pleaded the Condemnations of *Scæurus*, and the rest of the Criminals, without his *Tunic*, only in his *Purple Gown*.

CHAP. VII.

*Of Self-Confidence.**Among the Romans, in*

FORREIGN.

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| 1. <i>Scipio the Greater.</i> | 1. <i>Euripides the Poet.</i> |
| 2. <i>Scipio Æmilianus Coss.</i> | 2. <i>Antigenidas the Musician.</i> |
| 3. <i>Scipio Nasica Coss.</i> | 3. <i>Zeuxes the Painter.</i> |
| 4. <i>Livius Salinator Coss.</i> | 4. <i>Phidias the Graver.</i> |
| 5. <i>P. Furius Philus Coss.</i> | 5. <i>Epaminondas of Thebes</i> |
| 6. <i>Licinius Crassus Procos.</i> | 6. <i>Hannibal the Carthaginian.</i> |
| 7. <i>Cato the Greater.</i> | 7. <i>Cotys King of Thrace.</i> |
| 8. <i>Æmilius Scæurus.</i> | 8. <i>Androclidas, Leonidas, Agis, Spartans.</i> |
| 9. <i>M. Antonius the Orator.</i> | |
| 10. <i>The Roman Senate.</i> | |
| 11. <i>Accius the Poet.</i> | |

THESE, and other Examples like these, are marks of a *Vertue* assuming something to it self, by a new custome of *Liberty*. But by those that follow, it shall appear how confident *Vertue* is of her self.

1. *P. and Cn. Scipio* being with the greatest part of the *Army* very much distressed by the *Carthaginians*, all the people of that Province taking part with the Enemy, no other of our Captains daring to adventure themselves; *Publius Scipio*, being then but in the Twenty

Fourth year of his Age, proffer'd himself. Which confidence of his afforded both safety and victory to the *Romans*. And the same confidence he had at home, he us'd in *Spain*. For when he was besieging the City of *Badia*, he caus'd all those that came to his Tribunal, in matters of Law, to put in Sureties to appear at a certain House which was within the Walls of the Town the next day; and immediately taking the City, at the same time and place that he had appointed, he caus'd his Chair to be plac'd, and there sat in Judgment. Nothing more Heroic than such a Confidence, nothing more true than such a Prediction, nothing more efficacious than such a Celerity, nothing more worthy than such an Authority. Not less courageous, nor less prosperous was his Passage into *Africa*: into which he transported his Army, contrary to the command of the Senate. In which thing, had he not trusted more to his own opinion, than the Counsel of the Conscript Fathers, there would have been no end of the Second *Punic War*. Equal to this was that Confidence of his, that when after he was landed in *Africa*, he had taken several of the Scouts of *Hannibal's* Army, he neither put them to death, nor in prison, nor enquir'd any thing into the state and condition of the Enemy; but caus'd them to be led through all the Companies of his Army: And then, after he had ask'd them whether they had taken a sufficient view of what they were commanded to take notice of, causing provision to be given to them and their horses, he freely dismiss'd them in safety. With which Confidence of mind he damp't the Courage of the Enemy, before he had vanquish'd their Arms. But to come to the private acts of his sublime confidence; When he was call'd to an account for Forty Thousand Sesterces of the Money of *Antiochia*, he took the Book wherein his Expenses were wrote down, and by which he might

might have clear'd himself from the Accusation of his enemies, and tore it publicly; disdaining that any doubt should be made of what he had acted, as being the chief Commander: Pleading for himself in this wise; *I am not to give an account to your Treasury, most Noble Senators, having commanded a forreign Kingdom, which by my Government and Conduct, I have made more plentiful than twice an Hundred Thousand Sesterces. Neither do I think ye are come to that height of malice, as to doubt of my Innocency. For when I had subdued Africa wholly under your Jurisdiction, I brought nothing thence that I could call mine own, but a Surname. They have not therefore rendered me covetous of the Punic, nor my Brother of the Asiatic Treasure, seeing we are both more wealthy in Envy, than in Money.* Which stout defence of Scipio the whole Senate approved.

Like this was another act of his. When finding that the urgent occasions of the Common-wealth required Money to be taken out of the Publique Treasury, and that the Quæstors were shie of opening it, because it seem'd to be something against the Law; being a private person he demanded the Keys, and compell'd the Law to yield to Necessity. Which confidence grew from the assurance which he had, that all the Laws were by that means secur'd. I will not be tired with the relation of his Actions of this nature, seeing that he himself was never wearied in the exercise thereof. *P. Nevius* Tribune of the People, or as some relate, the two *Petellii*, had prefix'd him a day to appear before the People; who appearing in great multitudes in the Forum, he ascended the Pulpit for Orations, and putting a Triumphal Crown upon his Head; *This day, said he, most Noble Romans, did I compel Carthage, hoping great things, to submit to your Laws: And therefore I hold it just that you go with me to the Capitol, to give thanks to the Gods.* Which

most splendid Speech of his had as noble a success. For immediately the whole Senate, the whole Order of Knights, and all the People follow'd him to the Temple of *Jupiter*. The Tribune remained alone to plead to the people without the people, being deserted in the *Forum* with great contempt of his Calumny. At length, to avoid the shame, he went also to the Capitol himself; and of an Accuser, became a great admirer of *Scipio*.

2. *Scipio Æmilianus*, the famous Heir of his Fathers Courage and Magnanimity, being at the Siege of a strong City, and perswaded by some that he should place round about the Walls thereof sharp Iron Spikes, and stop all the open Passages with Planks covered with Lead, and stuck with Spikes, to hinder the Sallies of the Enemy; made answer, that it was not for him to fear those that he sought to take.

3. To what ever side of Memorable Examples I turn me, I am forced, *nolens volens*, to remain in the Family of the *Scipio's*. For how can we in this place pass over *Scipio Nasica*, illustrious for his magnanimous Mind and Saying? There being a likelihood of great Scarcity, *Curatius* Tribune of the People compelled the Consuls, in a publick Assembly, to propose in Court the buying of Corn, and sending Embassadors to that end and purpose. For the hindering of which design, being of little profit, *Nasica* began to make opposition; upon which a great clamour arising among the People: Romans, said he, *be quiet, for I understand much better than you do, what the necessities of the Commonwealth require.* Which words of his they no sooner heard, but with a silence full of veneration; they made it appear, how much a greater respect they had to his Authority, than to their own want of Nourishment.

4. The stout mind also of *Livius Salinator* is to
be

be delivered to Eternal Memory ; who, when he had defeated *Asdrubal*, and the Army of the *Carthaginians* in *Umbria*, and that it was told him that the *Gauls* and *Ligurians* were without order, and without their Officers, scattered from their Colours, easie to be overthrown with a small party; he made answer, That those were to be spared, lest the Enemy should want Messengers of their great defeat at home.

5. This was a warlike presence of minde, that which we relate, though in a person of the Gown, not less praiseworthy ; which *Furius Philus* shewed in the Senate : For he compelled *Quintus Metellus*, and *Quintus Pompeius*, men of Consular degree, being his professed Enemies, and upbraiding him because he did not go into *Spain*, which province he had chosen, that he should send Lieutenants thither, upon his departure from *Rome* to march along with him ; a confidence not onely couragious, but almost rash, that durst admit so neer him two of his most Capital Adversaries ; and trust the management of Affairs in the breast of Enemies, which was hardly to be intrusted with his friends.

6. The act of this person, if it be not displeasing, certainly the purpose of *L. Crassus*, who was the most Eloquent among his Ancestors, cannot admit of reproof : who having obtained the Province of *Gallia* in his Consulship, in which Province *Carbo* had condemn'd his Father, when he came to have an inspection into *Carbo's* actions, he not onely not remov'd him from his Dignity, but assign'd him a place in the Tribunal, and ordered nothing without his presence in Council : So that sharp and vehement *Carbo* got nothing by his *Gallick* Expedition, but onely that he thereby understood that a guilty Father had been banished by a just and honest man.

7. The Elder *Cato* being often called to plead for him-

himself, yet never convicted of any Crime, at length repos'd so much confidence in his Innocency, that being publicly questioned, he made *Gracchus* his Judge, to whom he bare a singular hatred, by which Excellency of his Courage he abated the envy of his Prosecutors.

8. The same was the fortune of *M. Scavrus*, the same length of years, the same courage of mind: Who being accused before the *Pulpius* for Orations, that he had taken money of *Mithridates* to betray the Commonwealth, pleaded his Cause in this manner: *It is unjust, O Romans, said he, that I who have lived among one sort of people, should come to give an account of my actions among another; yet I will dare to ask ye all, the greatest part of whom could not possibly be present at the Deeds which I have done, and the Honours which I have attain'd.* Varius Suetonensis says that *M. Scavrus* brib'd by the King, has betray'd the Commonwealth: Whom of the two do you believe? The people mov'd with admiration of his Saying, with their loud Cries forced *Varius* to desist from his violent and mad prosecution.

9. Contrariwise did *M. Antonius*, that Eloquent man: For he, not by refusing, but by embracing his own defence, testified how innocent he was. Going Quæstor into *Asia*, he was on his Journey as far as *Brun-dusium*; where being inform'd by Letters that he was accused of Incest before the Pretor *Cassius*, whose Tribunal, because of his severity, was called the Rock of the Guilty, though he might have shun'd it by the benefit of the *Memmian* Law, which forbids the Names of them to be taken who are absent upon the Affairs of the Publick, yet he return'd to the City; by which advice of a good Confidence, he not onely obtained a quick absolution, but a honest departure.

10. These that follow, are also splended Examples of

of noble Confidence. For in that War which was undertaken against *Pyrrhus*, when the *Carthaginians* had sent a Navy of an Hundred and Thirty Ships to *Ostia*, to the assistance of the *Romans*, the Senate were pleased to send Messengers with Instructions to tell their Captain, that they did not use to enter into Wars which they were not able to carry on without the help of Strangers; and that therefore he might return with his Navy to *Carthage*. The same Senate some few years after, when the *Roman* power was almost broken by the Overthrow at *Canna*, sent a Recruit of Forces to the Army in *Spain*; whereby they shew'd, that although *Hannibal* was with his Army at the *Capene* Gate, how little they valued his approach. Thus to carry themselves in Adversity, what was it else, but to compel Fortune, overcome with shame, to return to their side?

II. It is a great leap to descend from the Senate to the Poet *Accius*. But that we may pass from him more decently to foreign Examples, let us produce him. He, when *Julius Cæsar* a great and powerful man came into the Colledge of Poets, would not so much as rise: not that he was forgetful of his Grandeur, but that he believed himself superiour in comparison of their Studies. And therefore not guilty of the Crime of Insolence, seeing the contest was about Volumes, not Statues.

FORRAIGN.

I. Nor was *Euripides* to be accompted insolent at *Athens*, who, when the People requir'd him to strike out such a Sentence out of a certain Tragedy, appearing upon the Stage, told um, *That he compos'd Fables to teach them, not by them to be taught*. That Confidence is certainly to be praised, which weighing the esteem

esteem of a mans self, arrogates so much to its self, as to keep contempt and insolency at a distance.

And therefore his answer to *Alcestides* the Tragick Poet; who complaining to him, that he could not make above three Verses the last three days, and that with a great deal of labour too, when the other boasted that he could write an Hundred; *Iberisason* is, said *Euripides*, because thine are only to last three days, and mine are to last to eternity. For the fluent writing of the one, perish'd within the first bounds of Memory; but the elaborate and constant Style of the other will be carried through all Ages upon the wings of time.

2. I will adde an Example upon the same Stage. *Antigenidas* the Musician, cried out to a Scholar of his rare in his Art, but not approved by the People, *Sing to me and the Muses*. For perfect Art, though it want the flattery of Fortune, doth not therefore want a just confidence in its self.

3. But *Zeuxis* having painted *Helen*, thought it not fit to expect what men would say of his Work, but presently added these Verses out of *Homer*, *Iliad*. 3.

Οὐ νέμεις Τρώας τις, ἢ Δυσηήμους Ἀχαιῶς,
Τοῖς δ' ἀμύρηναι πολὺν χεῖρον ἄλγεα πάχυν'
Ἀνὴρ δ' ἄστυ δ' αὖτις θεῶς εἰς ἅπαντα ἔσται.

*I cannot blame the man that for her strives
Like an Immortal God she is —*

So that the Painter did not arrogate so much to his Art, to think he had drawn so much Beauty, as *Leda* might assume through her Celestial Birth, or *Homer* express by his divine Wit.

4. *Phidias* also alluded to the Verses of *Homer* in a notable

notable Saying. For having finish'd the Statue of *Jupiter Olympic*, than which never humane hand did make a more famous Piece, being ask'd by his Friend, whither he directed his mind when he form'd the Face of *Jupiter of Ivory*, as if he had seem'd to fetch it from Heaven; reply'd, that he made use of these following Verses; *Iliad*. 1.

Ἦ, ἢ Κρονίῳ ἐν ὄρεσσι νεῦσι Κρονίων.

Ἀμείψαι δ' ἄρα χεῖρας ἐπιρροῦσεντο ἀνακλῖ-

Κρατὶς αὐτ' ἀθανάτοιο μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν ἑλυμπεν.

— *With his black brows he to her nodded,
Wherewith displayed were his Locks Divine,
Olympus shook at stirring of his Godhead.*

5. But now the most renowned Captains suffer me no longer to insist upon mean Examples. For *Epa-minondas*, when his Citizens in anger commanded him in contempt to take care of paving the Streets in the Town (which was one of the lowest Offices among them) without any hesitation took it upon him, promising in a short time to make the City most beautiful. By his wonderful Industry making the most vile Office to be coveted for a great honour.

6. But *Hannibal* remaining in Exile with King *Prusias*, and being the occasion of his giving Battle, though the other told him that the Entrails portended no good Success, made this reply; *Hadst thou rather, said he, believe a little Calves flesh, than an old General?* A brief and concise Answer, considering the number of the Words; considering the sence, a copious reply, and of great authority. For he that had wrung out of the hands of the *Romans* both *Spains*, and having reduc'd the force of *Gallia* and *Liguria* under his subjection, had open'd a new Passage through the *Alps*, laying at the Kings feet the dire memory of the *Thrasymene* Lake,

Lake, the famous monument of the *Punic* Victory at *Canne*, *Capua* taken, and all *Italy* rent and torn, could not endure that his glory, witnessed by long experiment, should be put in competition with the Liver of one Sacrifice. And certainly, as to what concern'd the exploring of Military Sacrifices, and making conjectures of Warlike Conducts, the breast of *Hannibal* was far above all the little fires, all the Altars of *Bithynia*, in the judgment of *Mars* himself.

7. That saying also of King *Cotys*, was the mark of a most generous Spirit, who so soon as he understood that the *Athenians* had given him a City, made answer, that he would give them the Law of his Nation. Thereby equalling *Thrace* to *Athens*, lest by accounting himself unable to requite such a benefit, he should have been esteem'd to have thought too meanly of his Original.

8. Nobly was it said also of both the *Spartans*, one of whom being reproved that he went to battle being lame, reply'd, *That it was his intention to fight, and not to run.* The other being told that the Sun us'd to be obscur'd with the Darts of the *Persians*; *A very good story*, quoth he, *for we shall fight the better in the shade.* Another Person, of the same City and Courage, made answer to his Hott, shewing him the high and broad Walls of his City; *If ye made um for your Women*, said he, *ye did well; if for your Men, 'twas ignominiously done.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of Constancy.

ROMANS.

1. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
2. Q. Fabius Maximus.
3. Q. Calpurnius Piso.
4. Metellus Numidia.
5. Scævola the Elder.
6. Sempronia Sister of the Gracchi.
7. Pontius the Centurion.

8. Mevius the Centurian.

FORRAIGN.

1. Blaffius the Salapian.
2. Phocion the Athenian.
3. Socrates the Athenian.
4. Ephialtes the Athenian.
5. Dion of Syracuse.
6. Alexander the Great.

There remains the labour of Constancy, as it were due to him that has demonstrated an open and courageous breast endued with good Confidence: For Nature has provided that whoever believes himself to have comprehended any thing orderly and rightly in his minde, should stily defend it, and put it into act against opposition; or if not done, should bring it to effect without delay maugre all resistance.

1. But while I seek for an Example of what I propound, looking about me at a distance, before all the rest, the Constancy of *Fulvius Flaccus* offers it self. He at that time held *Capua*, which through the fallacious promises of *Hannibal*, had resolv'd by their vile Revolt to put the Kingdom of *Italy* into the Conquerours hands. Having therefore made a true value of the Enemies Crime, he purposed with himself wholly to extirpate the Senate of *Capua*, who were the Authors of that wicked Decree. To this intent he sent them all to *Theana*, and *Calena*, laden with Chains, into

into two several Prisons, resolving to execute his purpose, when he had done some other things which required a more necessary speed. In the mean time a Rumour being spread of more favourable Proceedings being intended toward them, lest they should escape their deserved punishment, he took horse in the night-time, posts to *Theana*, where he put to death all that were in custody there; thence hasting to *Calena*, he finish'd the work of his severe Resolution: For though while yet the *Campanians* were bound to the stake, he had received Letters in favour of them, he notwithstanding kept the Letters as he received them in his left hand, commanding the Lictor to do his duty; nor would he open them, till he knew it was too late to obey them. By which Constancy of his he surmounted the glory of a Victory: For if we make his Estimate by dividing the praise between himself, we shall finde him greater in *Capua* punish'd, than in *Capua* taken.

2. This was a Constancy in Severity; that which follows, a most admirable Constancy in piety, which *Fabius Maximus* render'd indefatigable for the good of his Country. He told out the Money to *Hannibal* for the Captives; being publickly defrauded of it, he said nothing. The Senate had made *Minutius* Master of the Horse, equal to him in Authory, he held his tongue. And although provoked with many other injuries, he persisted in the same habit of minde; nor would ever give his passion liberty to be angry with the Commonwealth, so stedfast was the love he bare to his Citizens. In his managing the War, was not his Constancy the same? The *Roman* Empire broken at the overthrow at *Cannæ*, seem'd scarce able to provide another Army; and therefore believing it to be better to delay and weary the force of the *Carthaginians*, than to come to Handy-blows with all his power, though

though provoked with the frequent taunts of *Hannibal*, though he had many times a fair opportunity of well succeeding offer'd, yet he would never recede from his own wholesome deliberations, not so much as to the hazard of a Skirmish; and which is most difficult, he every where appear'd to be Superiour both to Anger and Hope. And therefore as *Scipio* by fighting, so he by not fighting reliev'd his Country: For the one ruin'd *Carthage* by his Celerity, the other by his delay took care that *Rome* should not be destroy'd.

3. By the following Narration it will also appear, that *Gaius Piso* being Consul at a time of much turbulence and combustion in the Commonwealth, did behave himself with a wonderful Constancy. The fury of the people being highly moved by the delusions of *M. Palicanus*, a seditious person, endeavour'd to commit a most foul act at the great Assembly for choosing Consuls, intending to have given into his hands a most large Power, whose vile actions requir'd rather the utmost severity of punishment, than any the least mark of Honour. Nor was the furious flame of the Tribunes Authority wanting to incense the amazed Multitude. In this miserable and shameful condition of the City, *Piso* being plac'd before the Pulpit for Orations, though not by the hands of the Tribunes, and all flocking about him, and demanding of him whether he would declare *Palicanus* Consul, now chosen by the Suffrages of the People, answered; First, that he did not believe the Commonwealth had been overwhelm'd with so much darkness, as to act a thing so unworthy. And when the People still press'd him to declare the Election, crying out, *If it were unworthily done, let it be so*, he replied, *I will make no declaration*. With which short Answer he bare away the Consulship from *Palicanus*, before he had obtain'd

it. Thus *Piso* condemn'd many terrible hazards, disdainning to renounce the well-grounded rigour of his mind.

4. *Metellus* firam'd *Numidian*, for a perseverance of the same nature, endured a storm much unworthy his Majesty and generous Manners. For when he perceived what *Saturninus* in his designs of mischief aim'd at, and what ruin they would bring to the Commonwealth, if not timely prevented; he rather chose Banishment, than to submit to his Law. Could there be any person thought more constant than this man? Who rather than he would act contrary to his judgment, suffer'd the want of his own Countrey, where he had attain'd to the highest degrees of Dignity.

5. However, though I prefer no one before him, yet may I not undeservedly compare with him *Scævola* the Soothsayer. *Sylla* having now quite defeated his Opposers, and got the upper hand of his Enemies, and got possession of the City, armed as he was, compell'd the Senate to accomplish his most eager desire, that *Marius* might be by them declar'd an open Enemy. Whose Will when no one durst withstand, *Scævola* alone being requir'd, refus'd to give his opinion in the Case. And when *Sylla* began with a frowning look to threaten him; *Though*, said he, *thou shouldst shew me the bands of Souldiers with which thou hast surrounded the Senate, though thou threaten death never so often, thou shalt never make me yield, in hopes to keep warm my little and aged blood, to declare Marius an Enemy, by whom this City and all Italy has been preserv'd.*

6. What has a Woman to do with publick Orations? If the Custome of our Countrey be observed, Nothing. But where Domestick Peace and Quiet is toss'd upon the waves of Sedition, the Authority of Antient Custome gives way. And that which Violence

lence compels, more avails, than that which Modesty persuades and directs. And therefore, O *Sempronia*, Sister of *Titus* and *Caius Gracchus*, Wife of *Scipio Æmilianus*, I will not comprehend thee in a Narrative envious of thy worth, as absurdly inserting thee among the most weighty Examples of Vertue: but because that being brought to answer before the People, by a Tribune of the Vulgar, thou hast not degenerated from the greatness of thy Ancestors in so vast a confusion, I will eternize thy Memory. Thou wert forced to stand in that place, where the greatest Personages of the City were wont to be affronted. The highest in Authority powr'd out their Threats against thee with a severe and cruel Brow, backt with the Cries of the rude Multitude. The whole *Forum* eagerly endeavour'd that thou shouldst acknowledge with a Kiss *Equitius*, whom they unjustly labour to impose upon the *Sempronian* Stock, as the Son of *Tiberius* thy Brother: yet didst thou thrust him from thee, a Monster brought out of I know not what profundity of darkness, approaching with an execrable boldness, to usurp a relation of Consanguinity, where he had nothing of Alliance.

7. The great Luminaries of our City will not take it amiss, if in the number of their flaming Lights the virtue of the Centurions also make bold to shew it self. For as humble Degree ought to reverence Greatness, so antient Nobility ought rather to cherish than despise those who are but newly advanc'd, by acts of Vertue. Wherefore then ought *Pontius* to be driven out of the Company of these Examples, who being upon an Out-guard in *Cæsar's* Army, and surprized by a Party of *Scipio's*, when there was but one way left for him to save himself, if he would serve under *Pompey* his Son-in-law, fearless made this answer: *Scipio*,

I thank thee for thy kindness, but I have no occasion for my Life upon any such condition.

8. *C. Mevius* a Centurion of divine *Augustus*, a person of mean Extraction, yet of a heroic Minde, and observing the same Constancy of Resolution, having signaliz'd himself by many Personal acts of Valour in the War with *Mark Antonie*; being at length taken by an Ambuscado of the Enemy, and brought before *Antonie* to *Alexandria*, and being demanded what punishment he deserved: *Command me*, said he, *to be killed, for neither the benefit of Pardon, nor present Death shall compel me to cease to be a Souldier of Cæsars, nor now to begin to take thy part.* But the more constantly he contemn'd his Life, the more easily he obtain'd it. For *Antonie* immediately set him at Liberty for his Vertue.

FORRAIGN.

1. Many other *Roman* Examples remain of this nature; but I must avoid tediousness, and therefore suffer my Pen to slip to *Forraign* presidents. In the first front whereof let *Blasius* appear, than whose Constancy there was nothing more stedfast. He designing to restore *Salapia*, where he was born, to the *Roman* Empire, being then garrison'd by the *Carthaginians*; to this purpose, with more desire to compass his Plot, than hope of obtaining his end, he boldly adventures to draw in *Dafius*, one that most fiercely disagreed with him in the administration of Affairs, being wholly devoted to *Hannibal*, but one without whose assistance he could not bring his designe about. This man presently reports to *Hannibal* all that had pass'd between him and *Blasius*, adding of his own what he thought would increase his own commendation, and render his enemy more odious. *Hannibal* calls

calls them both before him; the one to justify, the other to defend what he stood accused of. Now it falling out so that the matter was brought before the Tribunal, while other matters of more moment were in dispatch, *Blasius* with a fair face and low voice earnestly admonish'd *Dafius*, to favour and assist the *Romans*: whereupon *Dafius* crying out, that he was impudently sollicitated in the very pretence of the Captain by the Prisoner; which because it seem'd incredible, and was heard only by one, and spoken by an enemy, the truth was not believ'd. But not long after the wonderful Constancy of *Blasius* drew *Dafius* to his par y, by which means he deliver'd up *Salapia* to *Marcellus*, with Five Hundred *Numidians* that were there in Garrison.

2. *Phocion* the *Athenian*, when the *Athenians* had had prosperous success in the management of an affair contrary to his advice, yet so obstinately defended his own opinion, that he told them in his Speech, that though he rejoiced in their Success, yet his Council was much the better, if they had follow'd it. For he did not condemn what he saw well done, seeing it had succeeded, what they undertook by ill advice; accomplishing the one fortunate, the other wisely advis'd. Fortune makes rashness to be approv'd when it prospers by bad counsel, which as it causes more vehement mischief, so the good it brings is the more unexpected. The manners of *Phocion*, pleasing, liberal and endued with all sweetnes, were the cause that he was by the consent of all men adorn'd with the Surname of *Good*. And therefore Constancy, which by nature seems more rigid, flow'd more gently out of his mild Breast.

3. But the mind of *Socrates*, clad with the strength of Virility, produced a more rugged Example of firm Resolution. The whole City of *Athens*, being carried

ried away with a most wicked and barbarous error, had pronounced a most sad sentence against the ten Prætors, that had overthrown the Navy of the *Lacedæmonians* at *Ægynuse*. It hapned that *Socrates* was then in so great Authority, as at whose discretion the People made their publick Edicts; who thinking it an unworthy thing, that so many and so well deserving persons should unworthily be taken off by the violence of Envy, oppos'd his own Constancy to the Rashness of the Multitude: Nor could he be compell'd by the Clamours and violent Threats of the People, to give his consent to their publick madness. Which being thus by his opposition hindred from raging in a lawful manner, resolv'd unjustly to embrue their hands in the innocent blood of the Prætors. Yet was not *Socrates* afraid of the Eleventh Fury of his enraged Country, like enough then to have taken his Life also.

4. The next Example, though not of the same splendour, yet is it to be accounted as a certain experiment of Constancy, as well in regard of the Efficacy as the Fidelity of the person. *Ephialtes* at *Athens* was commanded to accuse several persons, and among the rest to set down the name of *Demoftratus*, whose Son was *Democrates*, a Youth of excelling Beauty, and by him ardently belov'd. The Accuser therefore, cruel by reason of his Office, but considering his private affection miserable and guilty, when the Boy came to entreat for mitigation of his Fathers punishment, prostrating himself at his Lovers feet, *Ephialtes* could not endure to behold him; but with his head cover'd, weeping and lamenting, suffer'd him to pour forth his Prayers in vain. Yet nevertheless he condemn'd *Demoftratus*, whom he had with a sincere fidelity accused; having got the Victory, I cannot say whether with greater praise or torment, because that before he inflicted punishment upon the Guilty, he vanquish'd himself.

5. Him

5. Him *Dion* of *Syracuse* exceeds, though by an example of a various nature. Who being advis'd by certain persons to be more wary of *Heraclides* and *Calippus*, in whom he had plac'd a great confidence, as now plotting designs against him, made answer, that he had rather loose his Life, than out of fear of a violent Death, make no distinction between his Friends and his Enemies.

6. That which follows is not only admirable for the thing it self, but also illustrious, when we consider the Author. *Alexander* King of the *Macedonians*, having in a very great Battle broken the Forces of *Darius*, being almost scalded with the heat of the Weather and his Travail, threw himself into *Cydnus*, a River running by *Tarsus*, eminent for the excellency of the water. Upon a suddain, with drinking over-much, his Nerves being stupified with cold, and his Arteries benummed, he was carried in that condition to a Town adjoining to the Camp, to the great consternation of the whole Army. While he lay ill at *Tarsus*, in the extremity of his Sickness, the hopes of present Victory boyl'd in his Breast. And therefore calling his Physicians, he sought for all Remedies to restore his health; who all pitching upon one Potion, which was to be made and given him by the hands of *Philip* his Friend and Companion, he received Letters at the same time from *Parmenio*, advising him to beware of the treachery of *Philip*, whom *Darius* had certainly corrupted. Nevertheless, after he had read the Letters he drank off the Potion, and then gave the Letters to *Philip* to read. For which constant opinion of the Reality of his Friend, he received a most worthy Reward from the Immortal Gods, who would not permit the Remedy of his Health to be disappointed by any surmised Suspicion of Treachery in the delivery of it.

LIB. IV.

CHAP. I.

*Of Moderation.**Among the ROMANS.*

1. P. Valerius Pöblicola
Cof.
2. Furius Camillus *Exile.*
3. Marcius Rutilius.
4. L. Quinctius Cincinatus *Cof.*
5. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
6. *The Elder* Africanus.
7. Claudius Marcellus.
8. Sempronius Gracchus
Cof.
9. Claudius Nero *Conful.*
10. P. Scipio Æmilianus
Cof.
11. Q. Mucius Sævola.
12. Metellus Macedonian.

13. Metellus Numidian.
14. Cato of Utica.
15. Calpurnius Bibulus
Proc.

FORRAIGN.

1. Architas Tarentine.
2. Plato Athenian.
3. Dion of Syracufe.
4. Thraſybulus the Athenian.
5. Stalippus of Tægea.
6. Pittacus Mitylene.
7. *Seven wiſe men.*
8. Theopompus King of Lacedæmon.
9. Antiochus King of Syria.

I Shall paſs to the moſt wholeſome part of Inſtruction, Moderation of Mind, which will not ſuffer our Minds to be diverted from the right way by the aſſaults of Raſhneſs. Whence it falls out to be not only without reprehention, but moſt wealthy in the treaſures

tures of praise; and therefore let us shew the effects thereof in men of Fame.

1. And that I may begin from the Cradle of Honour, *P. Valerius*, who for the honour he bore the Majesty of the people, was called *Publicola*; who after Kingship was driven out of *Rome*, seeing the whole stress of their power, the Ensignes of their Authority translated to himself under the Title of Consul, he reduced the envious height of Magistracy to a Habit easily to be endured. He made the *Fasces* give way to the *Axes*, in all publick Assemblies laying them down at the feet of the people: he brought the number of the *Fasces* to be less by one half, and of his own accord took *Lucretius* to be his Colleague in Authority; before whom, because he was the Elder, he caused the *Fasces* to be carried first. He also enacted a Law in the Assemblies of the Hundreds, That no Magistrate should strike or kill a *Roman* Citizen; so that the freer the Condition of the City was, the more he by little and little extenuated his own Authority. He also pulled down his own house, because that being seated in a higher part of the City, it seemed to have the resemblance of a Castle. Thus lower in his house, did he not appear higher in his glory?

2. I can no sooner forsake *Publicola*, but I am pleas'd in coming to *Furius Camillus*: Whose Translation and change from great Ignominies to highest Command, was so moderate, that when his Fellow-Citizens, after that *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*, required his assistance, being then an Exile in *Ardea*, he had no sooner began his Journey to *Veii*, there to take charge of the Army, but that he understood all things were confirmed in most solemn manner in relation to his being made Dictator. Magnificent was the *Veientine* Triumph of *Camillus*, famous was his Victory over the *Gauls*, but much more admirable that his Pause: for it was

was a harder labour for him to overcome himself than the Enemy ; neither avoiding adversity with too much haste, nor meeting adversity with too much joy.

3. Equal to *Furius* in Moderation, was *Marcus Papius Censorinus* : For being a second time created Consul, he called the people together to an Assembly, and in a Speech most sharply reprehended them, that they had twice conferred that Office upon him, seeing that their Ancestors thought rather fit to abridge and confine the time of holding the same, as being too great for one man. Both did well, both *Censorinus* and the people : for the one instructed them to bellow their high Honour with Moderation, the other intrusted themselves in the hands of a moderate person.

4. Go to ! *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, what a Consul was he ? whose honour when the Conscrip't Fathers would have continued not onely for his egregious acts, but because the people intended to continue the same Tribunes again the next year, neither of which could be legally done ; he hindered the endeavours of both, not onely restraining the endeavours of the Senate, but constraining the Tribunes to follow the Example of his own Modesty.

5. But *Fabius Maximus* having observ'd that himself had been Consul five times, and oftner by his Father, Grandfather, and Great-Grandfather, at the Assembly of the People, where his Son was created Consul, pleaded very hard with the people, That they would permit a vacation of Honour to the Family of the *Fabii* : Not that he did mistrust the Vertues of his Son, for he was a person of great Honour, but that the supreme Honour of the Commonwealth should not remain in one Family. What more powerful than this Moderation, that could so overcome his Fatherly affections, which are generally so strong in Parents ?

6. There

6. There was no Gratitude wanting among our Ancestors to give the rewards due to the Elder *African*; seeing that they have endeavoured to adorn his greatest Enterprizes with equal Honours. Willing they were to place his Statue in the great Halls of Justice, and Publick Assemblies, over the *Rostra* in the Court; and in the Temple of *Jupiter* himself, they were willing to adorn his Statue with Triumphal Habits, and lay it upon the Cushions or Beds of the Gods in the Capitol. They would have given him the Consulship as long as he lived, or a perpetual Dictatorship. But he not enduring any Act of the People, nor Edict of the Senate to pals in his behalf, carried himself with more Honour in refusing those Honours, than he had got in obtaining them.

With the same strength of mind he defended the Cause of *Hannibal* in the Senate, when his own Citizens by their Ambassadors accused him of raising Sedition among um. Adding, that it did not become the Conscript Fathers to meddle in the affairs of the *Carthaginians*; with a most high moderation consulting the safety of the one, and the dignity of the other; which amounted to a Victory, while both seemed to act the parts of an Enemy.

7. But *Marcus Marcellus*, who was the first that taught that the *Carthaginians* could be vanquished, and *Syracuse* taken, when in the time of his Consulship the *Syracusans* came into the City to complain against him, he would not permit the Senate to hear the Cause, because his Colleague was by chance absent, lest the *Sicilians* should grow fearful or remiss in their Accusation: But as soon as his Partner returned, he himself was the first that put the Senate in mind of calling in the *Syracusans*; and patiently heard them while they made their Complaints. And though they were commanded by *Levinus* to depart, yet he caused

caused them to stay, that they might be present at his defence. Afterwards when both parties had been heard, he followed them going out of the Court, that the Senate might be the more free in passing their Sentence. And when their Accusations were rejected, he courteously embraced them, suppliantly entreating him to receive them into his protection. Moreover, having drawn *Sicily* by Lot, he yielded that Province to his Colleague. And indeed so often may the Praises of *Marcellus* be varied, as he made use of various degrees of Moderation toward his Associates.

8. How admirable did *Tiberius Gracchus* render himself ! For being Tribune of the People, though he bare a profess'd hatred to the *Scipio's* both *African* and *Asiatic* ; yet when the *Asiatic Scipio* not being able to pay the Money wherein he was condemn'd, was therefore by the Consul commanded to be carried to Prison, upon his appeal to the Colledge of Tribunes, when no man would intercede for him, he dissenting and departing from the Colledge, made a Decree : And when every one thought that in the writing thereof he would have us'd the words and expressions of an angry enemy ; In the first place he swore that he was not friends with *Scipio*, and then recited this Decree of his own framing : *That whereas Cornelius Scipio had cast into Prison the Captains of the Enemy, led before his Chariot on the day of his Triumph ; it is unworthy and unbecoming the Majesty of the Roman People, that he should be led thither himself. And therefore he would not suffer it to be done.* Then willingly the Roman People saw how *Gracchus* had deceived them in their opinion, and extoll'd his Moderation with deserved Praise.

9. *Claudius Nero* is also to be number'd among the choice Examples of principal Moderation. He was partner in glory with *Livius Salinator* in the defeat

of *Asdrubal*. Yet he chose rather to follow him triumphing on Horseback, than to accept of that honour of Triumph, which the Senate had equally decreed to him; because the action was perform'd in *Salinator's* Province. Wherefore he triumph'd without a Chariot, so much the more renownedly, because only the Victory of the one, but the Moderation of the other was thereby commended.

10. Nor does the Younger *Africanus* suffer us to pass him by in silence: Who being Censor, when he muster'd the Army, and in the Sacrifice then went to be made, the Scribe was also singing a solemn Hymn of Praise set down in the Books, the Gods were supplicated to prosper and advance the affairs of the *Roman* People: *They are*, said he, *in a condition good and great enough, and therefore I desire the Gods to preserve them safe as they are.* And therefore ordered the Song to be mended accordingly in the publick Records. Which Modesty the Censors when they muster'd ever after us'd in their Prayers. Prudently believing, that then the increase of the *Roman* Empire was to be sought, when they sought for Triumphs but Seven Miles from the City. But when they now possessed the greatest part of the World, that it was a piece of over-Covetousness to desire more. Being happy if they lost nothing of what they had already won.

Nor did his Moderation appear less in his Censorship before the Tribunal. For when he was mustering the Centuries of the Horsemen, when he saw *Licinius* the Priest appear according to his Summons; *I know*, said he, *that he hath perjur'd himself in a set form of fram'd words for the nonce.* And therefore if any one would accuse him, he would be a witness: But w no man appear'd, *Deliver thy Horse*, said he, *Priest, and buy the Censor's mark; lest I be forced to act the part of an Accuser, Witness and Judge against thee.*

11. Which

11. Which temper of minde is also taken notice of in *Q. Scaevola*, a most excellent Personage : For being produced as a witness against a Criminal, when he had answered that which seemed to make much against the party, he added at his going away, that they ought not to give him onely Credit, unless many others did aver the same thing ; for that to believe the testimony of one, seem'd to be of a very evil Example : Whereby he procured that Faith which was due to his Sincerity, and at the same time gave wholesome advice for the Common good.

12. I am sensible what Citizens, what Deeds and Sayings of theirs I am forced to comprehend in a narrow compass of Oration ; but when many and great things are to be spoken concerning the renown of great men, there is no relation comprehending infinite persons and transactions that can perform both. And therefore our purpose is not to praise, but to record them all ; and therefore the two *Metelli*, the *Macedonian* and *Numidian*, two the greatest Ornaments of their Country, desire leave to be briefly remember'd. The *Macedonian Metellus* had most eagerly contended with the *African Scipios* and this Contention arising out of an Emulation of each others Vertue, grew to most grievous and terrible hatred of each other : but when he heard it reported that *Scipio* was slain, he ran into the publick street with a sad Countenance and confused Out-cry, crying out, *Arm, arm, Citizens arm, the Walls of our City are defaced and ruined : For Scipio was violently slain at home in his own house.* Oh unhappy Commonwealth in the death of *Africanus*, but happy in the generous and kinde Lamentation of *Macedonius* ! For at the same time he made known how brave a Prince she had lost, and how brave a *Gen* she enjoy'd. He ordered his Sons also to be the Supporters of his Bier, adding this voice of Honour to his Funeral,

Funeral, *That it would never be their fortune to perform that Office to a greater man.* Where were now those many Quarrels in the Court? those many dissensions before the Pulpits for Orations? where the Gown-confests of so great Leaders and Commonwealths-men? All these this most Venerable Moderation utterly cancell'd.

13. But the *Numidian Metellus* driven from his Country by Popular Faction, retir'd into *Asia*; where when he received Letters as he was at *Tralles* beholding certain sports, reporting that with the universal consent of Senate and People, his return to his own Country was freely granted him, he would not stir out of the Theatre till the Play was ended: Not shewing any change of gladness to those that sat next him of any side, but confin'd his great joy within himself, carrying the Countenance in his Exilement, as at his Restoration. So indifferently did he behave himself between Adversity and Prosperity, by the advantage of his Moderation.

14. So many Families being numbered up famous for one kind of Vertue, is it fit that we leave out the *Portian* Name, as wanting their share in this part of Glory? The younger *Cato* will not so permit it, not a little trusting to no small Exemplar of his own Moderation. He had brought the *Cyprian* Money with great diligence and sincerity into the City; for which Office the Senate ordained, that at the next *Prætorian* Assemblies Extraordinary consideration should be taken: but he would not suffer it to be done, affirming it to be unjust, that what was never decreed to any other, should be decreed to him. And lest any new Custom should arise from his person, he rather chose the hazards of the field, than to accept the kindness of the Senate.

15. While I am endeavouring from hence to pass to
Foreign

Forraign Examples, *Marcus Bibulus*, a person of great Dignity, and sacred for his high Honours, lays hands upon me; who when he lay in *Syria*, receiving News that two of his Sons, of admirable hopes, were both slain by the Souldiers of *Gabinus*, the Murtherers of whom were afterwards sent him bound by *Cleopatra*, to take the revenge of so great a Calamity at his own pleasure. He, notwithstanding so great an advantage was offered him, that a person so provoked could not desire a greater, yet caused his Grief to give way to his Moderation, sending immediately back to *Cleopatra* the Butchers of his own flesh and blood; telling her withal, That the power of Revenge did not belong to him, but to the Senate.

F O R R A I G N.

1. *Architus* the *Tarentine*, while he almost drowns himself at *Metapontus* in the Precepts of *Pythagoras*, after long labour and study, having freighted himself with the whole Body of Learning, returned into his own Country; where when he came to look after his Estate, he found, through the negligence of his Bayliff, his Farms very much decay'd and spoil'd: Whereupon beholding his ill-deserving Servant, *I had most certainly*, said he, *punish'd thee according to thy desert, but that I am angry with thee.* And therefore he had rather let him go unpunish'd, than in his anger punish him more than was just.

2. The Moderation of *Architus* was over-liberal, that of *Plato* more temperate. For being over-vehemently provok'd by a Servant that had committed a great Crime, fearing he should himself exceed the measure of his chastisement, committed the correction to his Friend *Speusippus*; deeming it an unhandsome thing if he had done amiss, that the fault of his Servant, and the

the correction of *Plato* should deserve the same reprehension: which makes me no less wonder that he was so constantly moderate toward *Zenocrates* his Scholar. *Plato* was informed that he had spoken ill of him many times. He without hesitation slighted the accusation. The Informer very seriously asked him, Why he did not believe him? who replied, That it was not credible that he whom he loved so well should not love him as well again. At length when the envie of the Make-bate confirm'd his story with Oaths, he affirm'd, That he did not believe him perjur'd; however, if *Zenocrates* did say such things of him, he would not have said them, but that he thought it convenient to speak so. One would have thought his Soul had not kept her Station in a Mortal Body, but in a Celestial Tower, and as it were armed, that could so invincibly keep off the Incurfions of Humane Vices, keeping the whole number of Vertues in the close Fortrefs of the breast.

3. *Dion* of *Syracuse* could not deserve equal Commendation with *Plato* for Learning, but of his Moderation he gave a larger Experiment. He being expelled his Country by *Dionysius* the Tyrant, went to *Megara*; where coming to give the King of that City a Visit, but not finding admittance after a long and tedious waiting, said he to his friend, *This is patiently to be endured, for perhaps when we were in Authority we our selves did something like this*. By which tranquillity of Minde he made his own Exile more pleasing to himself.

4 *Thrasibulus* is next to be recorded: who when the people of *Athens* were forced to leave their Country through the Cruelty of the Thirty Tyrants, and to live miserably dispersed, and wandering without any home, brought them back to their own Country. However, he made the victorious Restoration of their Liberty more renowned by his most applauded Moderation:

ration: For he made a Law, That no mention should be made of things past. This Act of Oblivion which the *Athenians* call *Amnesia*, restored the shaken and decaying State of the City to its former condition of Honour.

5. Not less admirable is this that follows. *Stasippus* of *Tegea*, when his friends advised him by any means to kill or remove a person that was his Rival in the Administration of the Commonwealth, though otherwise a very just and upright person, denied to do any such act, fearing that the place in Government, which a good man now enjoyed, should be possessed by one of a perverse and evil disposition, coming in his room.

6. The breast of *Pittacus* was well endued with Moderation; who being become an absolute Tyrant over his Country, when *Alcaeus* the Poet not only persecuted him with an inveterate hatred, but with the strength of his sharp Wit, only gave him to understand what was in his power to do.

7. The mention which I have made of this man, brings to our consideration the Moderation of the seven Wise men. A certain person had bought a Draught of certain Fishermen in the Country of *Mitylene*, who bringing up a golden Table of *Delphos*, of a very exceeding great weight, a very great Dispute arose; these affirming the sale only of Fish, the person affirming he bought the Draught in general. By reason of the novelty of the Accident, and the value of the Treasure, the business was referred to the judgment of all the City: they thought it convenient to consult the Oracle to whom the Table belonged: the God answered, that it was to be given to him that excelled in Wisdom, in these words:

Ὁς σφὴν πάντων ποτὶ θεῶν τὸν αἶμα τέλει· αὐτῷ δὲ.

Who first in Wisdom all excells, to him the Tripod give.
There-

Thereupon the *Milesians* by consent gave the Table to *Thales*: he yielded it to *Byas*, *Byas* to *Pittacus*, and so from one to another, at length it came to *Solon*, who gave the attribute of chiefest Wisdom, as also the reward, to *Apollo* himself.

8. And to witness the Moderation of *Theopompus*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, who being the first Author of the creation of the *Ephori*, which were to be a Curb to the Kingly power in *Lacedæmon*, as the Tribunes were a Curb to the Consular Authority in *Rome*; and for that cause reprehended by his wife, that he had done that which would lessen the grandeur of his Children: *I shall leave it less*, said he, *but more lasting*. Rightly said; for that power is most lasting that gives limits to it self. Therefore *Theopompus* by binding a Kingdom in legal Fetters, the more he withdrew it from Licentious power, the more he fixed it in the good will of his Subjects.

9. But *Antiochus* being driven by *L. Scipio* to the utmost limits of the Kingdom, beyond the Mountain *Taurus*, having lost *Asia* and all the adjacent Kingdoms, thought himself bound, without dissimulation, to return thanks to the *Romans*, that being freed from great Cares, they had comm'd him to govern a moderate Territory. And indeed there is nothing so illustrious or Magnificent, which may not be tempered by Moderation.

CHAP. II.

Of Reconciliation.

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| 1. M. Æmilius Lepidus
and M. Fulvius Flaccus
Censors. | 4. M. Tullius Cicero and
A. Gabinus. |
| 2. M. Livius Salinator
and C. Claudius Nero
Coss. | 5. P. Clodius Pulcher and
T. Cornelius Lentulus. |
| 3. The Elder Africanus
and T. Sempronius
Gracchus. | 6. L. Caninius Gallus and
C. Antonius. |
| | 7. M. Caelius Rufus and
Q. Pompey. |

Which being demonstrated by many and most renowned presidents, let us pass to a most rare Affection of the Mind, or the course of Hatred to Friendship; and let us pursue it in a pleasant Style. For if the boisterous Sea prove calm, and the stormy Sky appear with a serene aspect, and War making a change for Peace, be no small cause of comfort; the asswagement of the bitterness of Hatred is to be celebrated with a candid Narration.

1. *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, twice Consul, and high Priest, equal in the Splendour of his Honours to the Gravity of his Life, bare an inveterate and continued Hatred to *Fulvius Flaccus*, a person of the same dignity; which as soon as they were both declared Censors together, he laid aside in the Field. Believing it unreasonable for those to be at private difference, who were coupled together in Supreme publick Authority.

That

That judgment of his mind the present Age hath approved, and the old Writers of Annals have recorded to us as a thing most worthy of applause.

2. Nor would they let the illustrious advice of *Li-
vius Salinator* for the ending of Quarrels be unknown to Posterity. For though he went into Exile with a burning hatred against *Claudius Nero*, anger'd at the testimony which he gave against him; yet when the People had recall'd him, and made him Partner with *Nero* in the Consulship, he commanded himself to forget his own disposition, which was most fiery, and the heavy injury which he had received. Lest by denying to take the Consortship of Government, through the inward disaffection of his mind, he should have acted the part of an evil Consul, by shewing his hatred to his Enemy. Which inclination of his mind to a better disposition, in an unsafe and difficult conjuncture of affairs, wrought no small advantage to the City and all *Italy*; while they supported with an equal strength of vertue, were the first that broke the force and turn'd the fortune of the *Carthaginians*.

3. A fair Example also we finde in the Elder *Afri-
can* and *T. Gracchus* of Enmity laid aside. For at the sacred Rites of that Table, to which they came with a boyling Hatred each to other, from the same Table they departed entire Friends. For *Scipio*, at the mediation of the Senate, not contented to enter into Friendship with *Gracchus* in the Capitol, at the Feast of *Jupiter*; he there also espoused his Daughter *Cornelia* to him.

4. This gentile humour appear'd chiefly in *M. Ci-
cero*: For he most vehemently defended *A. Gabinus* accus'd of Bribery, who had expell'd him out of the City in his Consulship. And the same person preserv'd *P. Vatinius* from two publick Judgements, though he were alwaies an enemy to his Dignity: As

without any imputation of Levity, so with some Praise. For with better pretence Injuries are overcome by Benefits, than retaliated with obstinate Animosity.

5. Which act of *Cicero's* seem'd so laudable, that *P. Pulcher*, his utter Enemy, did not disdain to follow it. Who being accus'd of Incest by the three *Lentuli*, received one of them into his protection, at the same time accused for corrupting the People, to obtain an Office: and gave his mind wholly (beholding the Judge, the Praetor, and the Temple of *Vesta*) to act all Friendship for the same *Lentulus*, though the other at the same time endeavour'd to ruine his reputation with a foul crime.

6. *Caninius Galus* also shew'd himself wonderful in Courtesie both toward the Criminal, and to his Accuser: For to *Antonius*, whom he had condemn'd, he gave his Daughter; and *Colonius*, by whom he was accused, he made Overseer of his Estate.

7. As for *Celius Rufus*, though his Life were infamous, yet the Pity that he shewed to *Q. Pompeius* was to be applauded; who being cast at a publick Trial by himself, when his Mother *Cornelia* would restore the Farms, which he had convey'd to her in trust, at the request of *Lentulus* in a Letter, he with great fervency made a Journey to her: He shewed the Letter, which testified the Necessity of *Pompey*; where-by he overcame the impious Covetousness of *Cornelia*. A deed, for its most compassionate Humanity, to be applauded even in *Celius* himself; and to be imitated, though *Rufus* were the Author.

CHAP. III.

Of Abstinence and Continence.

ROMAN Examples.

1. Scipio African the Elder.
2. Cato of Utica.
3. Nero Claudius Drusus
and Antonia.
4. Cn. Martius Coriolanus.
5. Curius Dentatus Cos.
6. C. Fabricius Luscnus
of.
7. Q. Ælius Tubero Cos.
8. L. Æmilius Paulus Tri-
cos.
9. The Roman Ambassadours
Fabius Gurgus,

Cn. Fabii Pictores, and
Q. Ogulnius.

10. L. Calpurnius Piso.
11. Cato the Elder.
12. Cato of Utica.
13. P. Scipio Emilianus.
14. The People of Rome.

FORRAIGN.

1. Pericles the Athenian.
2. Sophocles the Athenian.
3. Xenocrates the Academic.
4. Diogenes the Cynic.

With great care and most deliberate study are we now to relate, how those impetuous desires of Lust and Avarice have by Reason and Counsel been remov'd from the breasts of great Persons. For that City, that Family, that Kingdom easily remains in a lasting and firm degree of Establishment, where Lust and Avarice challenge the least prerogative. For where those Plagues of Humane kinde have gotten footing, there Injury prevails, and Infamy rages. But forgetting those, let us call to minde Customes contrary to those most pestilent Vices.

1. *Scipio* in the twenty fourth year of his Age, having taken *New Carthage* in *Spain*, and conceiving

in his mind prosperous hopes of taking the greater *Carthage*, had regained into his power many Hostages, which the *Carthaginians* kept close in that Town, and among the rest a Virgin of most surpassing Beauty mature in years, though he were young, unmarried and a Conquerour, yet understanding that she was of a Noble Family among the *Celtiberians*, and affianced to *Indibilis*, one of the Princes of that Countrey, he sent for her Parents and her Spouse, and delivered untouch'd to her own Friends, adding to her Dowry the Gold that was brought for her Ransome. Which Continency and Bounty of his so moved *Indibilis*, that he wrought with the *Celtiberians* to take part with the *Romans*, thereby approving himself truly grateful for to great a favour.

2. As *Spain* was a witness of this mans Abstinence, so did *Epirus*, *Achaia*, the *Cyclade* Islands, the Sea-Coast of *Asia*, and *Cyprus*, give testimony to the Continence of *Cato*: From whence when he had the charge of sending great sums of Money, he carried himself as free from Wantonness, as from desire of Gain, though he had opportunity enough to have been intemperate in both: For the Royal Treasure was all at his charge, and he was forced every where to take up his Lodgings in Cities the most fruitful of all pleasures. And this is testified in writing by *Minatius Rufus*, his faithful Companion in the *Cyprian* Expedition. Though I rely not altogether upon his testimony; the subject it self is a sufficient proof, seeing that *Cato* and Continence were both born from the same Womb of Nature.

3. Most certain it is that *Drusus Germanicus*, the glory of the *Claudian* Family, a rare Ornament of his Countrey, and which is above all the rest, for the greatness of his Actions, considering his Age, near approaching to the Grandeur of his Imperial Father-in-Law

Law and Brother, was eminently known to have confin'd his love of Women within the particular and single affection to his own Wife. *Antonia* also, a woman surpassing in Praise the Masculine Renown of her Family, recompens'd the love of her Husband with a Fidelity answerable : And after his decease, in the Flower of his Age and Beauty, espous'd her self to the House of her Mother-in-law ; so that in the same bed the Vigorous Youth of the one extinguish'd, the experienced Widowhood of the other grew aged. And so let this Chamber put an end to these Examples.

4. Let us now spend some time upon Examples of those who never car'd for money. *Caius Marcius* a young Gentleman of the *Porcian* family, descended from the Renowned Progeny of King *Ancus* ; who had their surname from *Coriolum* a Town of the *Volscei* by them taken : when for his noble acts of Fortitude, he was praised at the head of the Army by *Posthumius Cominius* the Consul, and reward given him of Military gifts, besides a hundred Acres of Land, his choice of ten Captives, as many Horses with their Trappings, a Herd of a hundred Oxen, and a great weight of Silver ; yet he refus'd all, accepting of nothing but the liberty of one Captive that was his Host, and one Horse for service : Through which circumspect Moderation of minde, it is hard to judge whether he merited most in deserving or refusing those Rewards.

5. But *M. Curius*, a most exact Rule of Roman Frugality, as well as a perfect President of Fortitude, was not asham'd to shew himself sitting upon a Country-form before the fire at Supper in a Wooden platter. (You may guess at his Dainties.) He contemn'd the Riches of the *Samnites*, the *Samnites* admir'd his Poverty : For when they brought him a great weight of Gold, sent him by their Country-men for a Present, and kindly desired him to accept of it, he fell into a laughter,

laughter, and presently, quoth he, *You that are come hither upon a needfull, if I may not call it idle Embassage, go tell the Samnites, That Curius had rather command rich men than be rich himself, and carry back that precious gift, invented to the evil of mankind; and remember that I can neither be overcome in Battle, nor be corrupted with Money.* The same person when he had given *Pyrrhus* out of *Italy*, nevertheless would not touch the least part of all those Royal spoils that did so enrich the City. Moreover, he would not exceed the usual measure of Popular assignement, though the Senate gave to himself Fifty Acres of Land, to the people but Seven Acres; esteeming him no good Citizen, that could not be contented with what was given to others.

6. Of the same opinion was *Fabricius Luscinus*, greater than any person of his time in Honour and Authority; in Estate not above the meanest: Who when the *Samnites*, who were under his protection, sent him a Present of Ten pound of coyned Silver, Five pound weight of Gold, and as many Servants, he sent them back to *Samnium*; by the advantage of his Continency rich without Money, and attended without a Family; so much did he abound in Honour purchased by the contempt of those things. Nor was the expectation of *Fabricius* unanswered in the refusal of those Presents: For the Embassador returning to *Pyrrhus*, and hearing *Cyrus* the *Thessalian* telling, the King of a certain *Athenian* famous for his Wisdom, who was of opinion that men should do nothing but for pleasure's sake, look'd upon it as a monstrous saying, and immediately decri'd that kind of Wisdom, both before *Pyrrhus* and the *Samnites*. For though the *Athenians* did glory in their Learning, yet there was no prudent person but would rather chuse to follow the self-denial of *Fabricius*, than the Precepts of
Epi-

Epicurus: which the event prov'd true: For that City which indulg'd so much pleasure, lost a very large Dominion; but an industrious and laborious Country holds its own: And this City could bestow that Liberty, which the other valu'd not.

7 One might easily conjecture *Elius Tubero*, surnamed *Carus*, to have been the Disciple of *Curius* and *Fabricius*, to whom, being then Consul, when the *Etolians* sent a vast present of Silver Plate, not onely of a very great weight, but also most exquisitely wrought; by reason that their Embassadors whom they had formerly sent to congratulate him, upon their return had related how they saw him feeding onely in Earthen Dishes: He immediately bid them be gone with their Baggage, admonishing them withal, that they should not think that Continency and Poverty wanted the same supply. How well did he prefer his own Domestick meanness before the *Etolian* Splendour, if the succeeding Ages would have followed his Example! But now to what a height are we grown, that Servants refuse to make use of that Household-stuff, which would serve a Consul before?

8. But after the overthrow of *Perseus*, *Paulus* had so glutted the old Hereditary poverty of our City with Wealth, that at that time the *Roman* people first began to think of laying Taxes; yet no way enriched his own Family, accompting it enough that he by his Victories got Honour, while others got the money.

9. To this sound judgment of his, *Q. Fabius Gurges*, *Cn. Fabius Pictores*, and *Ogulnius*, subscribed, who being sent Embassadors to King *Ptolomy*, sent those Gifts which they had privately receiv'd from the King, into the publick Treasury, before they would give an account of their Embassie to the Senate; judging that there was nothing due for faithful service to the publick, but the reward of Praise. But now the
Senate

Senate shew'd their gratitude, and the exact discipline of our Ancestors. For what they had laid up in the Treasury was restor'd to the Embassadors not only by the Decree of the Senate, but by the consent of the People, which was by the Quæstors with the same willingness paid. Thus the Liberality of *Ptolemy*, the Abstinence of the Embassadors, the Equity of the Senate and People, had in all an equal share of applause.

10. That *Calpurnius Piso* was an Imitator of the *Fabii* and *Ogulnii*, the Story makes manifest. The Consul having freed *Sicily* from the bloody War of the Fugitives, like a Commander rewarded those with Gifts, whose assistance he had made most use of; among the rest he gave to his Son, who had behaved himself valiantly, a Crown of Three Pound weight of Gold, saying withal, *That the chief Magistrate should not take out of the publick Treasure to expend upon his own Family; and that therefore he would leave so much Gold over and above to the Young man in his Will, to pay for it; that though he received his Honour publicly, he should receive the price privately from his Father.*

11. Let us see if we can find any great person in this age that makes use of Goatskins for his Coverlid, and while he rules all *Spain*, has but three Servants to attend him; that spent no more than Five Hundred Farthings and somewhat over in his preparation for his Journey; that drank the same Drink, and eat the same Meat which the Mariners fed upon; would not that be wonderful indeed? Yet all this did the Elder *Cato* patiently endure, confining himself with an extraordinary delight to a pleasing custome of Frugality.

12. The Younger *Cato* was born at a great distance from the Continnence of the antient times, coming into the world at such a time, when the City abounded in Riches

Riches and all manner of Voluptuousness. Yet he having a command in the Civil Wars, and having his Son along with him, nevertheless had but twelve Servants with him; in number more than the former *Cato* used, but the alteration of the times being consider'd, fewer.

13. I am not a little delighted in repeating the Acts of Illustrious Heroes. *Scipio Æmilianus*, after he had born two Consulships, and been eminent for two Triumphs of his own Conquests, yet went upon a great Embassie accompanied with no more than Seven Attendants. And yet 'tis believed he might have purchas'd more with the Spoils of *Carthage* and *Numantium*, but that the praise of his great deeds should accrue to himself, the Spoils to his Country. And therefore when he travell'd through the Countries of his Associates and Allies, and other forraign Nations, they were not accompted his Slaves, but his Victories. Nor did men consider how much Gold and Silver, but how much weight of worth he bare about him.

14. This Continenace appear'd in the very breasts of the generality of the People, but it shall suffice to relate two Examples of ages far distant one from another. *Pyrrhus* when he saw the violence of his fury at a stand, & that the hearts of his *Epirotes* began to fail, designing to purchase the good will of the *Roman* People, whose Vertue he could not overcome, had transported almost all the wealth of his Treasures into our City. But when his Embassadors went from House to House with great Gifts fit for the use of Men and Women, they could not finde a door open to them. Thus the more stout than prosperous defender of the *Tarentine* petulance, was repulsed and defeated as well by the Customs as Arms of the City; nor can I determine which was the greatest Victory. In that storm also with which *Marinus* and *Cinna* infested the Commonwealth,

wealth, wonderful was the abstinence of the People. For when they left the people at liberty to ransack the houses of them that were by themselves proscribed, there was no man to be found that would lay hands upon the Prey of civil Discord. For every one abstained from using violence toward them, as from things consecrated to the Gods : Which compassionate abstinence of the common people, was a tacit reproach to the Cruelty of the Victors.

FORRAIGN.

1. And lest we should be thought to envy the same applause to strangers, *Pericles* Prince of the *Athenians*, having for his Companion in the Pretorship *Sophocles* the *Tragædian*, whom he observ'd at the same time to utter certain Expressions over-lavish in the praise of a beautiful Boy that pass'd by, reprehended him in these words : *That a Magistrate ought to keep his eyes from lustful desires, as well as his hands from unlawful gain.*

2. *Socrates* himself being now stricken in years, and being demanded by one whether he yet minded his Youthful dalliances, *The Gods have taught me better*, said he, *for I fled from it of my own accord, as from a furious Contagion.*

3. Of equal Continency was *Xenocrates* in his old Age; of whose opinion the following Relation is no small testimony. *Phryne*, a noble Curtisan of *Athens*, while he was in drink, laid herself upon the bed by him, having receiv'd a sum of money to try if she could tempt him. But though he neither refused to hear her flattering allurements, nor to let her stroak and handle him, but let her lie dallying in his bosome, yet he at length put her off without prevailing in her designe. An abstemious act of a mind endu'd with wisdom. But the saying of the Curtisan was very facetious : For the young

young men deriding her that she being so handsome and witty, could not win the affection of an old man; and refusing to give her what they had engaged, she made answer, *The Bargain was to deal with a Man, and not a Statue.* Could this Continence of *Xenocrates* be more truly demonstrated, more truly or properly by any one than by the expression of the Curtisan herself? For *Phryne* with all her Beauty could not weaken nor move the most constant Abstinence of the Philosopher.

4. What think ye of King *Alexander*? could he tempt him with his Riches? You would have thought him a Statue, though equally assail'd as well by the King as by the Curtisan. The King sent Embassadours to him with a Present of some Talents, whom being brought into the Academy, was entertain'd according to his custom, after his mean and poor fashion. The next day the Embassadours asking him if he would have his Money told out, *I had thought*, said he, *by your yesterdays entertainment, that you had understood that my condition does not require Money.* Thus while the King was desirous to buy the Friendship of the Philosopher, the Philosopher denies to sell it him.

5. The same *Alexander* having obtained the name of Invincible, could not conquer the Continence of *Diogenes* the Cynic, to whom, as he was sitting in the Sun, when he came and bid him tell him wherein he might do him a kindness, as he lay in the shade, of a fordid conversation, but of a stout minde, quoth he, *As to the rest of thy prissers, by and by; but in the mean time, do not stand between me and the Sun.* Which words carried a deep sense with them: so that *Alexander* might sooner overcome *Darius* with his Arms, than remove *Diogenes* from his low estate to love wealth. The same person being told by *Arutippus* at *Syracuse*, seeing him washing Pot-herbs, that if he
could

could but flatter *Dionysius* he need not eat such trash, made this retort, quoth he, *If thou couldst eat this mean fare, thou needst not flatter Dionysius.*

CHAP. IV.

Poverty praised.

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| 1. P. Valerius Poplicola. | 6. M. Attilius Regulus. |
| 2. Agrippa Menenius. | 7. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, Dictat. |
| 3. C. Fabricius Luscinus
and Q. Æmilius Papus. | 8. The Elia Family. |
| 4. Of Captains called from
the Plough to command
Armies. | 9. Elius Tuberus, and L.
Paulus Emilius. |
| 5. C. Attilius Regulus Cos. | 10. Cn. Cornelius Scipio. |
| | 11. M. Emilius Scaurus. |

THat Children are the greatest Ornaments to Women, we finde written by *Pomponius Rufus* in his Book of Collections, in these words. When a *Campanian* Lady lying at the House of *Cornelia*, Mother of the *Gracchi*, shewed her her Jewels and other Ornaments, which were the fairest of any in that time, *Cornelia* held her in discourse till her Children return'd from School. And these, quoth she, when they appeared, are my Ornaments. For he hath all things that covets nothing, and much more certainly than he that possesses all things. For great Estates many times fail, but a good Habit of Minde is above the violence of Fortune. And therefore what matters it, whether we put Riches in the highest part of Felicity, or Poverty in the lowest degree of Misery? Especially when the chearful countenance of Wealth is full of many conceal'd Bitternesses; and the more rugged

rugged and deformed aspect of Poverty many times abounds with many sure and solid Contents.

1. The pride of *Tarquin* having put an end to Kingly Government, *Valerius Publicola* with *Junius Brutus* his Colleague auspiciously began the Office of Consulship. The same person having afterwards born three Consulships to the great content of the People, and by many and most renowned Actions having enlarged the Grandeur of his Nobility: And yet this great Pillar of History died, not leaving a Patrimony sufficient for the expences of his Funeral, which were therefore defray'd at the Publick charge. It imports not to make any farther search into the Poverty of so great a Person, for it is apparent what he possessed when he lived, though being dead he wanted both a Bier and Funeral-Pile.

2. We may well guess how high in Dignity *Agrippa Menenius* was, whom the Senate and People chose Arbitrator of their differences, and to make peace between um. For how great ought he to be, who was Umpire of the publick Safety? This man, unless the People had gathered among themselves the sixth part of a Penny to make up the Sum, could not have defrayed his meer Funeral-Expences, dying so poor that he wanted for the decency of Burial; and therefore the City divided by pernicious Sedition, were content to be reconcild by the Ghosts of *Agrippa*, who though they were poor, yet they had observed them to be religiously sincere. Who as he had nothing while he lived that could be publicly taxed, yet being deceas'd had the Concord and Unity of the City for his Patrimony.

3. I cannot deny but that there was Silver in the Houses of *Caius Fabricius* and *Q. Emilius Papus*, the most principal men of their times. But *Fabricius* seem'd the more prodigal, because he had a Horn-foot

to his Drinking-cup. But *Papus* seem'd more headstrong, who having received his Goods as hereditary, would not alienate them for religions sake.

4. They were also certainly very rich who were call'd from the Plough to be made Consuls; for pleasures sake they plough'd the sandy and barren Soil of *Pupinia*, and ignorant of delicacy scatter'd those vast clods with continued sweat and labour; so that those whom the dangers of the Common wealth call'd to be Emperours and Generals, their want at home (for why should truth conceal a Sirname?) compell'd to follow the call of Cowherds.

5. They who were sent by the Senate to call *Atilius* to undertake the Government of the Roman People, found him sowing in his Garden; but those hands, hardned with Countrey-labour, establish'd the safety of the Common-wealth, and defeated mighty Armies of the Enemies; and those hands that lately held the Plough, now hold the reins of the Triumphant Chariot: Nor was he asham'd, when he had laid down his Ebony Staff, to return again to the Plough Tail. Well may *Atilius* comfort the Poor, but much more instruct the Rich, how little the troublesome care of gathering Riches, advantages the true desire of purchasing solid Honour.

6. Of the same name and blood, *Atilius Regulus*, the greatest glory and the greatest calamity of the *Punic* War, when he had ruin'd the wealth of the most insolent *Carthaginian* by the success of many Victories, and understood that his authority was continued for the next year, upon consideration of his worthy deeds; he wrote to the Consuls, that his Bayly of his little Farm that he had in the Countrey of *Popinia* was dead, and that one that he had hired was gone away with his Utensils of Agriculture, and therefore desired that a Successour might be sent him, lest his land lying

lying untill'd, his Wife and Children should want Bread. Which when the Consuls had related to the Senate, they caus'd his ground to be let, and settled a Livelihood upon his Wife and Children, and ordered those things that he had lost to be redeem'd. Such was the Example of *Annius's* vertue to our Treasury, that every Age will boast of among the *Romans*.

7. Equally large were the Farms of *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*: For he possessed only seven Acres of Land; and of these he had lost three, forfeited for a Fine, being bound to the Treasury; and with the rest of this little Land he paid another Forfeiture for his Son *Cæso*, for not appearing when he was call'd to answer the Law. And yet when he was ploughing only four Acres of this Land, he not only upheld the dignity of his Family, but had the Dictatorship conferr'd upon him. He accompts himself to live splendidly now, whose House stands upon as much ground as all *Cincinnatus's* Farm contain'd.

8. What shall I say of the *Ælian* Family? How rich were they? There were Sixteen of that name, whose little Cottage stood where now the *Marian* Monuments stand, and a small Farm in the Countrey of the *Vii*, that needed fewer men to till it than it had Owners; and in the Parishes call'd *Maximus* and *Flaminia* they had the ground where the Theater stood bestowed upon them for their vertue by the Publick.

9. That Family had not one scruple of Silver, before that *Paulus*, after he had utterly defeated *Perses*, gave to *Ælius Tubero*, his Son-in-Law, five Pound weight of Gold, out of the Spoils that were taken. I omit, that the chief person of the City gave his Daughter in marriage to one whose Family and Estate was so exceeding low. And he himself died so very poor, that unless he had sold one Farm which he had left, there had not been sufficient for the Dowry of his

Wife. The minds of Men and Women were then most noble in the City, and the worth of every Man was then in all things weighed against his Goods and Estate. For every one made it his business to serve his Country, not himself: And they rather chose poverty in a rich Empire, than riches in a poor Empire. And to this noble resolution that reward was given, that it was not lawful to buy any of those things which were due to Vertues; and the wants of Illustrious Men were supply'd out of the publick Stock.

10. And therefore, when *Cneus Scipio* had written out of *Spain* to the Senate, desiring that a successor might be sent him, for that he had a daughter now fit for marriage, and that no portion could be provided for her, without he were present: The Senate, lest the Commonwealth should loose a good Captain, performed the office of a Father, and having with the advice of his Wife and Relations agreed upon the Portion, caused it to be paid out of the publick Treasury. The Portion was two thousand pieces of brass money: whereby not only appears the kindness of the *Consul's Fathers*, but the usual measure of the ancient Estates may be guessed at. For they were so small, that *Tatia* the daughter of *Cato* was said to have brought her Husband an exceeding Portion, when she brought him ten thousand pieces of brass money. And *Megallia*, that entered her husband's house with fifty thousand pieces of brass money, was called for that reason, the *Maid with the Portion*. And therefore the Senate vindicated the daughters of *Fabricius Luscinus*, and *Scipio*, from being portionless, by their own Liberality, seeing their Parents had nothing to give them but their wealthy honours.

11. What inheritance *M. Scaurus* received from his Father, he himself relates in the first Book that he hath wrote concerning his Life. For, saith he, *he had but ten*

ten Slaves, and the whole value of his Estate, was but thirty five thousand pieces of money.

These Examples therefore we ought to regard, and quiet our minds with the Consolation thereof, who are always complaining of the scantiness of our own Fortunes. We find no Silver, or a very small quantity, few Servants, seven Acres of barren Land, domestick Indigency, Funeral expences publickly defray'd, Daughters without Portions: But we behold famous Consulships, wonderful Dictatorships, and innumerable Triumphs. Why do we therefore with continual reproaches torment a mean Fortune, as the chief evil of human kind? Who though with not superfluously flowing, yet with faithful breasts, nourished the *Populicæ*, the *Emilii*, the *Fabricii*, the *Curii*, the *Scipios*, the *Scauri*, and all those other supports of Vertue equal to these. Let us rather pull up our spirits, and comfort our minds, debilitated with the sight of money, with the memory of former times.

CHAP. I.

Of Bashfulness, or Modesty.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>Of the people of Rome.</i> | 6. C. Julius Cæsar Dict. |
| 2. C. Terentius Varro | |

Cos.

F O R R A I G N.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 3. C. Cicereius <i>Candidate.</i> | 1. <i>Spurina the Hettrurian.</i> |
| 4. L. Licinius Crassus | 2. <i>The Spartan Embassadors.</i> |
| <i>Candidate.</i> | |
| 5. <i>Pompey the Great.</i> | |

From whence it seems seasonable to pass away to Bashfulness: for this instructed the most just

men to neglect their own private Estates, and to have regard only to the publick. A vertue worthy, that to her should be Temples rear'd and consecrated, as to a Celestial Numen; as being the Parent of all good Counsel, the Guardianess of the most solemn Offices, the Mistress of Innocency; dear to her own, acceptable to Strangers, and in all places, and at all times, carrying a favourable Aspect.

1. But that we may return from the praises to the actions thereof, from the first building of the City, to the time that *Africanus* and *T. Longus* were Consuls, the Senate and People sat at the beholding all Spectacles and shews promiscuously together: yet not one of the people would venture to take place before any of the Senate. So circumspect was the modesty of our Citizens; a most certain experiment wherof appeared on that day, when *T. Flaminius* being by the Censor removed from the Senate, was contented to stand in the hindermost part of the Theater, though he had been Consul, and was the brother of *Flaminius* the Vanquisher of *Philip* King of *Macedon*. Which the people no sooner beheld, but they compelled him to take that place which his Dignity required.

2. *Terentius Varro* gave a great wound to the Commonwealth, by his rash giving battle at *Cannæ*. Yet by his refusing to take upon him the Dictatorship, which after that was decreed him by the full consent of the Senate and People; by his bashful modesty, made satisfaction for the fault of a most fatal overthrow: and through his modest behaviour, made men impute the publick Calamity, not to him, but to the anger of the Gods.

3. Let us behold a more famous piece of Modesty. Fortune, not without great envy, had brought *Cn. Scipio*, the son of the elder *Africanus*, together with *Cicereius* the Scribe, into the Common Hall for Election

Election of Pretors; and very much reprehended he was, that he had abused the Nobility and authority of so great a person, by appearing at such an Assembly. But *Cicereius* turned his crime to his praise. For, when he saw himself prefer'd by all the Centuries before *Scipio*, he went out of the Temple, and throwing off his Candidates Garment, came in again and gave his voice for *Scipio*. Being more willing to yield the Pretorship to the memory of *Africanus*, than to Challenge it for himself. Nor was the reward of his Modesty small; for though *Scipio* obtained the Pretorship, yet *Cicereius* was more applauded.

4. And that we may not presently leave the Common-Hall, when *L. Crassus* stood for the Consulship, and was by all perswaded after the manner of the Candidates, to go round the *Forum*, and beg the voices of the people, he could by no perswasions be induced to do it, though *Q. Sævola* his Father in law, a most wise and grave person, were present with him; whom he therefore desired to depart, as one who proffered his service in vain: more regardful of the modesty of his dignity, than mindful of the respect of his white Robe.

5. *Pompey* the Great, being overthrown at the Battle of *Pharsalia*, when all the people came forth to meet him, as he was entering into the City of *Larissa*; Go, said He, and perform this office to the Victor. A person not deserving to be overcome, had he not been vanquished by *Cæsar*: most gentle in Calamity; who because he could not use his authority, made use of his modesty.

6. Which as it often appear'd most eminent in *Caius Cæsar*, so most remarkably at his death: For being assail'd with the points of many parracidal weapons, when his divine Soul was separated from his mortal Body, could not be frighted, after he had received above twenty three wounds, from his obedience to Modesty.

deſty. For he let down the lower part of his Gown with both hands, that he might fall with the lower part of his Body covered. In this manner not men, but the Immortal Gods, recover their own habitations.

F O R R A I G N E R S.

That which follows, I will aſcribe to Forraigners, as happening before any City was given to *Hetæria*. There was in that Country one *Spurina*, a young man of ſurpaſſing beauty; whoſe lovely aſpect, alluring the eyes of the moſt Illuſtrious Ladies, and who therefore believing himſelf to be ſuſpected of unchaſtity by the Huſbands and Parents of thoſe women; with many wounds gaſh'd and ſpoil'd the beauty of his Countenance; chooſing rather deformity for the Guardian of his fidelity, than that his beauty ſhould be the Incitement of others Luſt.

2. At *Athens*, a very aged perſon coming into the Theater, when there were none that would riſe to give him place, he came at length where ſate the Embaſſadors of the *Lacedemonians*. Who being moved with the age of the perſon, not only by riſing up ſhew'd their reverence to his aged years, but alſo gave him leave to ſit in the moſt honourable place among them. Which when the people beheld, with great applauſe they approved the modeſty of a Forraign City: And it is reported that one of the Embaſſadors ſhould ſay, *That the Athenians knew what was well done; but neglected to do it themſelves.*

C H A P.

CHAP. VI.

*Of Conjugal Love.**Among the ROMANS.*

1. T. Gracchus *the Elder.*
2. C. Plautius *Numidian.*
3. M. Plautius.
4. Julia *the Daughter of*
Cæsar.
5. Porcia *the Daughter of*
M. Cato.

FORRAIGN.

1. Artemisia *wife of Mau-*
solus.
2. Hippocratea, *Daughter*
of Mithridates.
3. Lacæna. *Of the Family*
of the Minye.

FROM a gentle and mild Affection, I will proceed to another as equally honest, yet somewhat more fervent, and of a more vehement Nature; and offer not without greatest Veneration, as it were certain Images of lawful love, to the Contemplation of the Reader, effectually relating the actions of established and firm fidelity between married people, difficult to imitate, but profitable to be known: seeing that when a man knows the most excellent Examples, it will be a shame to him to follow the meanest.

1. *Titus Gracchus* having caught two snakes in his own house, a Male and Female; and being told by the Soothsayer, that if he let go the Male, it portended the death of his Wife; if he let go the Female, his own sudden decease; following that part of the prediction that portended his own, rather than the death of his Wife, he caused the Female Snake to be let go; and was so hardy as to behold his own destruction in the death of the Snake kill'd before his face.

face. And therefore I cannot determine whether *Cornelia* were more happy that she had such a Husband; or more miserable in his loss. O *Admetus*, cruel king of *Theffalia*, and by a great Judge condemned of an unpardonable crime! who wert so content to change thy own life for the death of thy Wife, and couldst enjoy the comfort of this light, after she had voluntarily submitted to dye, only to prolong thy days: having a heart inferior to a womans, before thou hadst tryed the indulgence of thy parents.

2. A meaner Victim to Misfortune than *T. Gracchus*, though of the Senatorian order, was *C. Plautius* the *Numidian*, yet as to affection of the same nature, equal to him in affection. For hearing news of the death of his Wife, impatient of grief, he stab'd himself with his Sword; but by the timely coming in of his Servants being hindred from executing his purpose, and the wound being dressed and bound up, he no sooner found his opportunity, but cutting his Swathes, and tearing open the wound again, he would not endure his soul oppress'd with grief to remain in his Bowels: Testifying by the violence of his death, what a Conjugal flame he had shut up in his breast.

3. As of the same name, so endued with the same love, was *M. Plautius*. Who being commanded to return with the Confederate Navy into *Asia*, and putting into *Brundisium*, whither his Wife *Orestilla* coming to visit him, fell sick and dyed: after she was laid upon the Funeral pile, betwixt the last duties of anointing and kissing her, he fell upon his naked Sword: whom his friends, as he was in his Military Coat, and Booted, laid by his Wife. Whose Monument is yet to be seen at *Tarentum*, with this Inscription, *THE LOVERS TOMB*. And it is not to be question'd, but that if there were any fence left in departed Souls, that they enter'd *Elysium* joyful of each others company.

4. The

4. The same Affection is noted in *Julia*, the daughter of *C. Caesar*. Who when she saw the Garment of her Husband *Pompey the Great* brought home sprinkled with Blood from the Common-Hall where the *Ædils* were chosen, fswounded away, and with the suddainness of the fright miscarried; and presently expired, to the great detriment of the whole world: Whose tranquillity had not been disturb'd with so severe a fury of so many Civil Wars, if the Amity of *Caesar* and *Pompey* had remained link'd with the Bonds of common Affinity.

5. All Ages will also with due admiration reverence thy most chaste fires, O *Porcia*, Daughter of *Marcus Cato*, who understanding that her Husband *Brutus* was overthrown and slain at the Battle of *Philippi*, not having a weapon ready, didst swallow burning Coals, thy feminine Soul imitating the masculine Death of thy Countries welfare.

FORRAIGN.

1. There are some Forraign Amours just and honest, not shadow'd nor obscur'd with the vail of Ignorance, of which it will be sufficient to touch upon a few. How much *Artemisia* Queen of *Caria* bewailed the Death of her Husband *Mausolus*, might seem a light thing, to the most exquisite honours of all sorts which she did him, and the Magnificence of that Monument, which became one of the Seven Wonders of the World. For why shouldst thou labour to recount all those Honours, or insist upon the Glory of that Monument, when she her self would not be satisfied without being the living and breathing Sepulchre of *Mausolus*, by the testimony of those who report that she drank up his Ashes mixt in a certain drink?

2. *Hipsirata* also the Queen so entirely loved *Mithriates*,

thridates her Husband, that she let go all the reins of Affection. For whose love she apparell'd her beauty in Mans Apparel; and accusom'd her self to man-like Exercises, cutting her Hair, and betaking her self to her Horse and Arms, that she might the more easily partake of his labours and dangers; and not only so, but after he was overcome by *Pompey*, following him with an indefatigable Body and Minde in his flight through many rough and barbarous Nations. Whose faithful society was a great comfort and aswagement of the Misfortunes and Calamities of distressed *Mithridates*: For with his Court and Family he seem'd to wander, but with his Wife only to live in Exile.

3. But why should I rummage *Asia*, why the immense Solitudes of Barbarous Countries, why the lurking Holes of the *Pontic* Sea? When *Lacedemon*, the most splendid glory of *Greece*, lays before our eyes a principal Exemplar of *Conjugal Fidelity*, to be compared for the wonder of the action with the most and greatest Miracles of that City.

4. The *Minyans* settled in the Island of *Lemnos*, and drawing their Original from the antient Companions of *Jason*, through success of time expell'd by the *Pelasgi*, wanting the wealth of others, seated themselves in the high *Taygetan* Mountains: whom at length the *Spartans* entertained, as descended from the *Tyndaride*, which noble pair of Brothers had displayed their splendour in that renowned Ship translated to the Stars; and thus mingled among them, they enjoyed the same Laws and Priviledges. But this good turn they turned to the injury of the well deserving City, affecting the Kingdome, and therefore committed to the publick Prison, they were reserv'd for publick punishment. Which when they were to suffer, according to the Custome of the *Lacedemonians* in the Night-time,

time, their Wives, of noble Race, desiring leave of the Keepers to take leave of their dying Husbands, entred the Prison, and changing their Habits, gave their Husbands liberty, having covered their Faces under pretenc of sorrow, to depart. Now what shall I adde more in this place, but that they were Wives worthy for the *Minyans* to marry?

CHAP. VII.

*Of the Bond of Friendship.**Among the ROMANS.*

1. T. Sempronius Gracchus *with* C. Blossius.
2. Sempronius Gracchus *with* Pomponius and Lucretius.
3. Lucius Rhexinus *with* Servilius Cæpio.
4. T. Volumnius *with* M. Lucullus.
5. Lucius Petronius *with*

P. Cælius.

6. Servius Terentius *with* D. Brutus.7. C. Lælius *with* Scipio, and M. Agrippa *with* Augustus.

FORRAINERS.

1. Damon and Pythias.
2. Alexander the Great *with* Ephettion.

L Et us now consider the Bond of Friendship, potent and mighty, and no way inferiour to the strength and force of the Blood. In this more certain and demonstrable, that this the chance of birth a fortuitous work produces; the other the uncompell'd Will contracts, upon grounds and reasons of solid judgment. And therefore it is an easier thing, and less subject to reprehension, to slight a Kinsman than a Friend. For the one betokens a wicked ingratefull disposition, the other

other only a levity of minde. For when the life of man lies as it were in a solitude, without the guard of Friendship; so necessary an assistance ought not unadvisedly to be chosen, but being once approved, ought not in any measure to be despised. But the most sincere Friendship always appears in Adversity; where whatever good offices are performed, proceed from a constant kindness and affection. The adoration of Felicity, being to be attributed more to Flattery than Love, is full of Suspicion, and still desires more than it expends. For men of unshaken fortunes more desire friends, either for a guard, or for their society. For affairs that go well and prosperously, as being favour'd with heavenly Success, have the less need of other assistance. And therefore their Memories have lasted longer in the Book of Memoires, who have deserted their Friends in Adversity, than theirs who have only been the Companions of Prosperity. No man talks of the familiars of *Sardanapalus*. *Orestes* is better known by his friend *Pylades*, than by *Agamemnon* his Father. For the Friendship of the one consum'd away in the participation of Luxury and Delight; but the mutual Society of the other, in a sad and hard condition, grew famous by the trial of their Miseries. But why do I mention Forreigners, having first to do with our own Countrymen?

1. *T. Gracchus* was esteem'd to have been an Enemy to his Country, and not undeservedly; because he prefer'd his own Authority before the Welfare thereof. Yet in this evil designe of his, how faithful a Friend he had of *C. Blossius* of *Cume*, will be worth our while to relate. An adjudged Enemy, suffering the highest Punishment, not permitted the honour of Burial, wanted not however his kindness. For when the Senate commanded *Rupilius* and *Lenax* the Consuls to proceed against all those that had been partakers with

with *Gracchus*, and that *Blosius* presented himself before *Lelius*, to beg pardon for himself, urging his familiarity with *Gracchus* for an excuse; when *Lelius* demanded of him, whether if *Gracchus* had commanded him to set fire on the Temple of *Jupiter*, would he have done it? That, said he, *Gracchus* had never commanded: He had done enough and more, for he ventur'd to defend those Customs which the Senate condemn'd. But that which follows was much more confident and more dangerous; for being still prest by *Lelius* to make an answer to his question, he resolutely persisted, affirming, that if *Gracchus* had commanded him to burn the Temple, he would have done it. Who could have thought he had been so wicked, had he held his peace? Who would not have accounted him wise, had he been less free in his speech, considering the necessity of the time? But *Blosius* neither with an honest Silence, nor with a prudent Answer cared to preserve himself, lest he should be thought to have silenced the memory of his unhappy Friendship.

2. In the same Family equally prevalent Examples of Friendship arise. For when all the Designs and Counsels of *Gracchus* were utterly defeated, and all his Conspiracy brought to light; being deserted of all assistance, only his two friends *Pomponius* and *Latorius*, by interposing their own bodies, covered him from the Darts that fell round about him. And of these two, *Pomponius*, that he might more easily escape, withstood a whole body of Souldiers that eagerly pursued him at the thrice-double Gate; nor could he be moved while he lived, till at length having received many Wounds, he fell, and (though I am apt to believe unwillingly) was forced to permit them passage over his dead Carcass. *Latorius* made a stand upon the *Sublician* Bridge, and till *Gracchus* was pass'd over main-
tain'd

tain'd it with the heat of his Courage, till at length overpower'd with the multitude, turning his sword upon himself, he made a nimble jump into *Tiber*, and so perisht, shewing that kindness to the friendship of one person by his voluntary death, which *Horatius Cocles*, in the same place, had shewn to his whole Country. What renowned Souldiers might the *Gracchi* have had, would they have followed the courses which their Fathers or Mothers Father had done? With what a courageous fury might *Blossius*, *Pomponius* and *Letorius* have assisted them in the gaining Trophies and Triumphs, the stout Associates of such furious enterprises! and taking part with an inauspicious friendship: but by how much the more miserable, by so much are they the more certain examples of a generous fidelity.

3. But *L. Reginus*, if you examine him as to his sincerity due to the publick, was much to be blam'd by Posterity; If you look upon the faithful pledge of his fidelity, we are to leave him in the safe harbour of an applauded Conscience. Who when *Cæpio* Tribune of the people was thrown into Prison, by reason that through his fault our Army was defeated by the *Cimbrians* and *Teutons*, remembering the ancient friendship between them, set him at liberty; and not content to have shewn himself so much a friend, accompanied him also in his flight. O great and most invincible *Nomen* friendship; when the Common-wealth had seiz'd with one hand, to pull him out of the other with thy own arm! and when she requires thee to be real, thou confin'st thy self to banishment. So gentle is thy Dominion, to make men prefer punishment before honour.

4. Wonderful was this thy work, but more praiseworthy that which follows. For call to mind, now thou hast celebrated the constant love of *T. Volturnus* to his friend without any dammage to the Common-wealth;

wealth; who being by descent of the order of Knighthood, and having an entire kindness for *M. Lucullus*, whom *M. Antony* slew for taking part with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, having full Liberty to fly, he stuck close to his dead friend; giving himself so much over to tears and Lamentations, that by his extream Devotion to his friend, he was the cause of his own death. For by reason of his continued and constant sorrow, he was carried before *Antony*: and standing before him, *Command me*, said he, *O Emperour, to be carried back to the body of Lucullus, and there slain.* For he being dead, I ought not to stay behind, being my self the Author of his unhappy going to war. What more faithful than so much love? He sought to ease his sorrow for his friend's death, by the hatred of his Enemy; to render him more miserable, making himself more envy'd. Nor were *Antonies* Ears shut: for being led where he desired, having kiss'd the dead body of *Lucullus*, and embrac'd his sever'd head, being lifted up to his breast, he laid down his own neck to receive the Victors blow. Let *Greece* now boast of *Theseus* yielding to the unlawful love of *Pirithous*, and for his sake entering into the Dominions of Father *Dis*. They are vain that relate it, fools that believe it. To see the mingled blood of friends, wounds sticking upon wounds, and death sticking upon death, these are the true signs of *Roman* friendship; those, the stories of a people accustomed to vain ridiculous wonders.

5. *L. Petronius* also claims to be a partaker in this praise. He by the favour of *Celins*, being of a very mean Extraction, came to be advanc'd into the order of Knights, and had very considerable military employments beside. For which, because he could not pay his thanks when *Celins* was in prosperity, he shew'd himself nobly grateful to him in his adversity. *Celins* was made Governour of *Placentia*, by *Octavius* the

O

Consul:

Consul : Who after the Town was taken by *Cinna's* Army, being old and sickly, and fearing to fall into the hands of the Enemy, resolv'd to dye by *Petronius's* hand ; who finding that he could by no persuasions change his resolution, according to his desire kill'd him first, and then joyned his own death to his ; that he might not survive him, by whom he had attained to all his Honour. So that Magnanimity occasioned the Death of the one, Piety the Fall of the other.

6. We are to joyn *Ser. Terentius* with *Petronius*, though it fell out that he did not dye for his friend, as was his desire. For a noble Intention is not to be valued by the issueless Event. For he was slain as much as in him lay, and *Brutus* escaped the danger ; who flying from *Mutina*, and receiving intelligence of certain Souldiers sent by *Antonius* to kill him, endeavour'd in a certain place, by the benefit of the Night, to steal that Life of his which deserv'd just Punishment. There *Terentius* assaying to break through with a faithful Lye, favoured by Darknes it self, feigned himself to be *Brutus*, offering his Body to the fury of the Souldiers. But being known by *Furius*, whose charge it was to execute the office of revenge, he could not hinder the punishment of his friend by his own death. So that against his will he was compell'd by fortune to live.

7. From this dreadful and horrid face of Friendship, let us digress to the more firene and placid countenance of Affection. And having brought it forth where all things are full of Tears, Lamentation and Slaughter, let us place it in the Palace of Prosperity, shining with Beauty, Honour, and abounding Wealth. Come forth therefore from those Seats that are believed to be consecrated to the Shades of the Blessed, here *Decimus Lelius*, there *M. Agrippa*, having wisely and prosperously chosen the one the greatest Friend

Friend of the Gods, the other of Men; and bring along with thee the whole Society, which under your Conduct, laden with Praises and Rewards, receive the venerable Stipends of sincere Fidelity: For succeeding Ages beholding your constant Minds, your stout Enterprises, your inexpugnable Taciturnity, your diligent and watchful care for the dignity and safety of your Friends, the publick testimonies of your mutual Love; and lastly, the most plentiful fruits thereof, the more willingly, the more religiously shall be busied in exercising and admiring the Laws of Friendship.

F O R R A I G N E R S .

I. My desire is to continue still in the Examples of my Native Countrey, but the candor of the *Roman* City admonishes me to relate the Gallantry of other Nations. *Damon* and *Pythius*, instructed in the sacred Secrets of *Pythagorean* Prudence, had contracted such a faithful Friendship between themselves, that when *Dionysius* of *Syracuse* would have put one of them to Death, and that he that was to suffer had got leave to go home to his house, to settle his affairs, the other was not afraid to be Surety to the Tyrant for his return. So that now he was free from the peril of Death, that had his Neck but now under the Axe; and he is now in danger, that was free before. And therefore all people waited the event of an accident so new and rare. The day prefix'd being come, and the party not returning; and therefore every one condemning him of folly, that had so rashly undertaken for the other; though he remain'd certain of the Fidelity of his Friend: At the very Hour and Moment which *Dionysius* prefixed, the other appeared. The Tyrant admiring the Courage of both, gave a full

pardon to so much Fidelity; farther desiring them to receive him into the Society of their Friendship, promising a most strict observance thereof. Such is the power of Friendship, to beget contempt of Death, take away the sweet desire of Life, tame Cruelty, turn Hatred into Love, and to reward Punishment with Kindness: to which there is almost as much worship due, as to the Ceremonies of the Gods. For they are the Links of publick, this of private Safety. And as the Temples of the Gods are sacred Houses, so the faithful Breasts of men are Temples fill'd with a certain holy Spirit.

2. Which King *Alexander* certainly believed to be a truth. Who being possess'd of the Camp of *Darius*, where all his Relations and Kindred were, he came with *Ephesion* most of all belov'd by him covering his side, to speak to them. At whose approach the Mother of *Darius* taking heart, lifting up her Head as she lay prostrate upon the ground, saluted *Ephesion*, flattering after the manner of the *Persians*, mistaking him for *Alexander*, because he was more amiable for his Stature and Beauty. But being made sensible of her error, in great fear she sought for words to excuse it. *There is no reason*, replyed *Alexander*, *to be troubled for this, for this is another Alexander also. Whom shall we congratulate? him that said it, or him that heard it?* While the King endued with a great Soul, having already grasp'd the whole World, either by his Victories, or in his thoughts, in so few words made so equal a division of it to his Companion. O the Gift of a Royal Tongue, as fair to the Receiver as to the Giver! Which I reverence as a private man, having had the experience of the Bounty of a most wise and renowned person toward my self. And I do not doubt but it may become me to think my *Pompey* to be like *Alexander*; while he will have his

his *Ephestion* to be another *Alexander*. And therefore I should be lyable to a very great errour, to pass over the Example of constant and kind Friendship, without any mention of him: in whose minde, as in the breast of most loving Parents, my prosperous condition of Life hath flourish'd, my Misfortunes have remain'd contented. From whom I have received all increase of profit freely offer'd; by whom I have stood more firmly against mishap; who by his own prosperous Conduct and good Omens, hath render'd our Studies more pleasant and delightful. And therefore I fed the envy of some with the loss of my best friend, dividing my kindness, such as it was, to some that knew not how to make use of it. But there is no Prosperity so modest, that can escape the teeth of Envy. But in what retirement are some to be avoided, with what allurements of kindness canst thou restrain their inveteracy? There is no remedy but they will rejoyce and be tickled at the misfortunes of others, as well as at their own good. They are rich in the Losses, wealthy in the Calamities, immortal in the Death of other men. But while they insult over the miseries of others, unexperienced in their own, let them have a care of the best revenger of their Insolency, the Variety of Human Condition.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Liberality.

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| 1. Q. Fabius Maximus. | to the Greeks. |
| 2. Paula Busa of Canusium. | • |
| 3. Q. Confidius a Roman Knight. | FORRAIGN. |
| 4. The People of Rome to King Attalus. | 1. Hiero King of Sicily to the Romans. |
| 5. The People of Rome | 2. Gillias of Agrigentum to his fellow-Citizens. |

Let us recal our work, that had straid in a pious Digression, in exposing our own discontents, to its former course, and now take *Liberality* into consideration; which hath two probable Fountains, true Judgment, and honest Benevolence. For wher it springs from these, then only is it duely founded: A Gift being acceptable for its greatnes, but somewhat more efficacious, when it is seasonable.

1. Beyond the price of the thing, we find a most inestimable moment of an opportunity, which with the expence of a small sum of Money rendr'd *Fabius Maximus* highly applauded so many Ages since. He had received the Captives from *Hannibal*, upon a Contract for so much Money. Which when the Senate would not stand to, sending his Son to the City, he sold the only Farm which he had in the world; and presently sent *Hannibal* the Money. If we consider the Sum, but small, as being the price but of seven Acres of Land, and those lying in *Pupinia*; but considering the Soul of the Giver, a most large sum, and far

far exceeding the Money. For he would rather want his Patrimony, than that his Countrey should be poor in Credit. So much the more to be commended, as it is a more certain signe of a real meaning, to stretch beyond ability, rather than to do the same act out of superfluity. For the one can do what he performs, the other more than he is able.

2. Therefore a Woman of the same time, *Busa* by name, the richest in the Countrey of *Apulia*, won her self an ample testimony of Liberality; though perhaps not so great, if we compare her flowing Riches to the Poverty of the *Fabians*. For though she relieved about Ten Thousand of our Citizens, the remains of the Battle of *Canne*, within the Walls of *Cannusium*, yet she shewed her self munificent to the *Romans*, without prejudice to her Estate. But *Fabius* for the good of his Countrey exchange'd Poverty for Want.

3. We finde also in *Quintus Considius* a most wholesome Example of Liberality, not without some profit to himself. Who when the Fury *Cariline* had put all the Commonwealth into such a tumult, that the Rich themselves, the Rents of Possessions falling, were not able to pay their Creditors; he having the Sum of one Hundred and Fifty Thousand Sesterces at use, would not suffer any of his Debtors to be call'd upon, either for Principal or Interest: and as much as in him lay, sweetned the bitterness of publick Confusion by his own private Quiet: opportunely testifying, that he made profit only of his Money, not of Civil Blood. Now they who act with rigour in business of this nature, when they carry bloody Money home, may hence learn to know, with what an accursed and impious joy they rejoyce, if they do not loath to read the Decree of the Senate, which gave *Considius* publick thanks.

4. Methinks the People of Rome seem to complain of me, that while I am reporting the Munificence of particular persons, I am silent of theirs: For it redounds to their great praise, that it should be reported, what noble minds they have born to Kings, Cities and Countries: For the glory of all renowned acts flourishes and revives by often rehearsal. After they had conquer'd *Asia*, they gave it as a Gift to King *Attalus* to possess; believing the future Empire of our City would be more high and splendid, if they should lay up the richest part of the World, rather in the Treasury of their Gratitude than Profit. A Gift more happy than the Victory it self. For to have possess'd much, might procure Envy; to have given away so much, could never want a glorious esteem.

5. It is impossible to praise sufficiently in writing the divine spirit of the Roman People. For after *Philip* King of *Macedon* was vanquish'd, when all *Greece* flock'd to behold the *Isthmian Games*, *T. Quinctius Flaminius*, having caus'd silence to be made by sound of Trumpet, commanded a Crier to proclaim these words: **The Senate and People of Rome, and Q. Flaminius their General, command all the Cities of Greece, that were under the Jurisdiction of King Philip, to be free.** Which being heard, the People were at first struck with a sudden unexpected joy, and, not believing what they had heard, were for a while silent. But upon the second Proclamation of the Crier, they fill'd the Skie with such a cheerful din, that it is certainly reported, that the Birds, which at that instant were flying that way, fell down amaz'd and terrifi'd with the noise. They had great Souls, to take off the yoke of Servitude from the necks of so many Captives, and to give Liberty to so many noble and opulent Cities. To whose Majesty it belongs, that not onely what they freely give, but also

also their giving of it, be memorably eterniz'd.
There being the celebration of gain'd applause, here of
applause repeated.

F O R R A I G N.

1. *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse*, hearing of the overthrow which the *Romans* receiv'd at the Lake of *Thrasymene*, sent to *Rome* three hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat, two hundred thousand Bushels of Barley, and two hundred and forty Pound weight of Gold: And not being ignorant of the Modesty of the *Romans* in receiving such Gifts, he made as if he had presented them a Congratulation of Victory, that he might compel them, moved by Religion; to accept of his Munificence. Liberal first in his ready will to send, and prudent in taking care that it should not be sent back.

2. I will add to him *Gillius* of *Agrigentum*, who may be thought to have had the very bowels of Liberality. He was potent in Wealth, but more wealthy in the Generosity of his Mind than in his Riches; and always more busily employed in spending and finding waies to bestow, than in getting Money. So that his House seem'd to be a kind of Shop of Magnificence. For there all Monuments fit for Publick Use were erected, there all Plays were set out for the delight of the People, there were all preparations for Feasting, and thence the scarcity of Corn was supplied. This to the generality; privately the Sick were reliev'd, Portions given to poor Maids, and comfortable Supplies to them that were broken by Misfortune; Guests and Strangers courteously received both in City and Countrey, and liberally presented at their departure. One time, among the rest, he fed and clad Five Hundred *Gethusian* Horsemen, who were by Tempest for-

ced

ced upon his Territories. What more? You would have said he had no Mortal Bosome, but the very Breasts of propitious Fortune herself. For what *Gilius* possess'd, seem'd to be the common Patrimony of all Men. For whose Prosperity and increase of Wealth, not only the City of *Agrigentum*, but all the neighbouring Regions continually praid. Place on the other side the Chests of some shut up with Locks, inexorable to all Pity; do you not think this expense far more laudable, than that wary Parsimony?

LIB. V.

CHAP. I.

Of Humanity and Clemency.

ROMANS.

1. *The Roman Senate.*
2. L. Cornelius Scipio, *Cof.*
3. T. Quinctius Crispinus.
4. M. Claudius Marcellus, *Procos.*
5. Q. Metellus Macedonicus, *Proconsul.*
6. P. Scipio Æmilianus.
7. *The Elder Africanus, Procos.*
8. L. Æmilius Paulus *Cof.* 2.
9. Cn. Pompey the Great,

Procos.

10. Julius Cæsar, *Cof.* 2.
11. Mark Antony, *Triumvir.*

FORRAIGNERS.

1. Alexander the Great.
2. Pisistratus the Athenian
3. Pyrrhus King of Epirus.
4. Antigonus King of Macedon.
5. The Campanians.
6. Hannibal the Carthaginian.

What better Companions could I have found out for Liberality, than Humanity and Clemency! The first of which shews it self in want, the second in business, the third in doubtful Fortune. Now when we know not which to esteem best, yet the commendation of that seems to crave precedency, which takes its denomination from the Godhead it self.

1. I will begin with the most humane and merciful Acts of the Senate. Who when the Embassadors of the Carthaginians came to the City about the Redemption

ption of Captives, immediately without receiving their Money, restor'd them above two thousand seven hundred and fourty young men. I may well think that the Ambassadors themselves were amazed to see such an Army of Enemies set at Liberty, so much Money despised, and so many *Carthaginian* Injuries forgiven, and that they thus said to themselves, O Munificence equal to the favour of the Gods of the *Romans*! and happy our Embassie beyond our wishes, For we have received a kindness which we never deserved. Nor was this a smaller testimony of the Senate, who when *Syphax*, formerly a most opulent King of *Numidia*, their Captive, was dead in the Prison of *Tibur*, order'd him to be inter'd at the Publick Expence; that to whom they had given Life, they might also adde the honour of Burial. The same Clemency they us'd toward *Perseus*, who dying at *Alba* where he was kept in safe custody, sent down a Questor to bury him at the Publick Charge, not permitting his Royal Reliques to lye dishonour'd. These things they perform'd to Enemies and Captives after their Death. The next were their Favours shewn to their Friends in prosperity and living. After the end of the *Macedonian* War, *Musocrates*, *Massinissa's* Son, being sent back to *Paulus*, with those Horsemen which he had brought to the assistance of the *Romans* to his Father, his Fleet being scatter'd by Tempest, and himself putting in sick at *Brundisium*: The Senate no sooner had news thereof, but they sent a Questor thither, not only to defray the Expences of him and his Retinue, but also to take care for the providing all things necessary for the restoration of his Health: and that they might not want Ships to carry them safe and well into *Africa*, they ordered to be given to each Horseman a Pound weight of Silver, and to every Footman five Hundred Sesterces, which so ready

ready and compleat Humanity of the Conscript Fathers, might perhaps have so far prevail'd upon *Massinissa*, that had his Son died in the Expedition, he had the less grieved for it. The same Senate, when they heard that *Prusias* King of *Bitthynia* was come to congratulate their Victory over *Perseus*, sent *Cornelius Scipio*, then *Questor*, to meet him as far as *Capua*: and ordered that the best House in *Rome* should be hired for him; and that he and his Retinue should be entertain'd at the Publick Charge. And indeed in the reception of that great King, the whole City seem'd to have the countenance but of one entire Friend. So that he, who came an entire friend to our City, return'd with a double affection for us. Neither was *Egypt* ignorant of the *Roman* Clemency: For King *Ptolomy* being thrown out of his Kingdom by his younger Brother, and coming to *Rome* with a small Attendance, and in a mean Habit, to crave aid of the Senate, took a Lodging in the house of an *Alexandrian* Painter. Which when the Senate understood, sending for the Young man, they made a very great excuse, for not having sent the *Questor* to meet him after the antient Custome, and for not providing entertainment for him; as not happening through their negligence, but through his suddain and private Entry. After which they accompanied him to a publick House, desiring him to lay by his mean Habit, and fix them a day to wait on him. They also took care to send him Gifts by the *Questor* every day; and by these degrees of kindness advanced him from Expulsion to the Royal Throne. So that he had more hope in the assistance of the *Roman* People, than fear of his own Misfortune.

2. To come now from the Conscript Fathers in general to particular Senators; *Lucius Cornelius* the Consul in the first *Punic* War, when he had taken the City
Olbia,

Olbia, for the relief of which *Anno* Captain of the *Carthaginians* valiantly fighting was slain, buried his Body out of his own Tent, bestowing a noble Funeral upon it. Nor was he ashamed to appear at the Equies of an Enemy, believing that his Victory would be the less envied both by Gods and Men, when there was so much of Humanity mix'd with it.

3. What shall I say of *Quinctius Crispinus*, whose Gentleness and mild Disposition, the potent Affections of Anger and Glory could not disturb? He had entertain'd with great civility *Badius* of *Campania* at his house, and with great care recovered him from a dangerous Sickness: Who after the revolt of the *Campanians*, provoking *Crispinus* to fight with him at the head of the Army; *Crispinus*, who knew himself to be above him both in Strength and Courage, chose rather to give him good counsel than to overcome him. *What dost thou go about to do, Murtherer, said he? Or whither do thy foolish desires carry thee? Must thou needs rage with a publick Impiety, that art fallen from private Charity? Couldst thou finde none among all the Romans, upon whom to exercise thy villanous arms, but only Quinctius, to whose Household-gods thou owest both a return of honour and safety? The League of Friendship and our Hospitable Gods, with us sacred Pledges, though with you of no account, will not suffer me to combat with thee. Nay, if in the shock of both Armies, I should have known thee overturned by the force of my Buckler, I would have recalled my Sword from thy Neck. And therefore it is thy crime, that thou didst intend to kill a Guest; but the Death of a Guest shall not be mine. And therefore seek out some body else for the courage of thy right hand, for mine has learnt to save. But Heaven gave to both a deserved Issue; for *Badius* was slain in the fight, *Quinctius* valiantly fighting came safe off with honour.*

4. And now the Clemency of *M. Marcellus*, how famous and how memorable an Example ought we to accompt it? Who after he had taken *Syracuse*, from the Cattle took a view of the City below, once flourishing, now almost ruin'd in Misery: he beholding the miserable state thereof, could not refrain from Tears. So that if some person that knew him not had beheld him, he might have been thought the Loofer, not the Victor. This consolation hadst thou in thy calamity, fair City, that though it was not lawful for thee to stand safe, yet thy fall was gentle under such a Conquerour.

5. *Quintus Metellus* warring in *Spain* against the *Celtiberians*, lying at the Siege of *Centobricum*, when the Engine was fix'd, and he was just ready to beat down that part of the Wall which was fittest to be batter'd, prefer'd Clemency before an approaching Victory. For when the *Centobricenses* had opposed the Sons of *Rhetogenes*, who had fled to him, against all the shot of the Engine, lest the Children should be cruelly kill'd in the sight of their Father (though *Rhetogenes* himself bid him not fear to go on with his Battery for all that) he rais'd his Siege. By which act of Clemency, though he took not one City, yet he took the hearts of all the *Celtiberians*, and thereby so far prevailed, as not to want many Hostages to keep them faithful to the *Roman* people.

6. Splendidly also did the Humanity of the Elder *African* appear, who having taken the City of *Carthage*, sent to all the Cities of *Sicily*, to fetch the Ornaments of their Temples, which the *Carthaginians* had taken from them, and to take care to restore them to their proper places. A Kindness acceptable both to Gods and Men.

7. Equal to this was the Humanity of his Grandfather. His Quæstor selling the Captives at the Spear,
sent

sent him a Boy of a very excellling Beauty, and very well habited; whom when he understood to be left an Orphan by his Father, and educated under the tuition of his Uncle *Massinisa*, and that without his leave he had immatirely taken Arms against the *Romans*, he not only thought it convenient to pardon the error of the Youth, but to give that respect which was due to the Friendship of a Prince so deserving of the *Roman* People. And therefore having bestowed a Ring, a Gold Button, and a broad emboss'd Tunick, a *Spanish* Jacket, and a Horse with all Furniture upon him, he sent him to *Massinisa* with a Convoy to attend him. The *Romans* believing these to be the greatest fruits of Victory, to restore the Temples their Ornaments, and Kings their Kindred.

8. Nor is the Memory of *L. Paulus* to be forgot, who when he heard that *Perseus*, a Captive now, before a King, was brought before him, went to meet him in all the Ornaments of a *Roman* General, and with his right hand rais'd up the King, endeavouring to cast himself at his feet, and in the *Greek* tongue bid him be of good chear; and bringing him into his Tent, caus'd him to sit next him in Council, not thinking him below the honour of his Table. Range the Army in view, which conquer'd *Perseus*, and the Story which I have related, it may be doubted which sight would be most delectable. For though it be a renowned thing to overcome an Enemy, yet is it no less praise-worthy to take compassion of him in misery.

9. This Humanity of *L. Paulus* teaches me not to forget the Clemency of *Cn. Pompey*: Who having overthrownt *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, who not only made cruel Wars with the *Romans* himself, but also protected *Mithridates*, a most inveterate Enemy to our City, would not suffer him to lye prostrate at his feet;

feet ; but giving him words of comfort, caus'd him to put the Diadem, which he had cast away, upon his Head again. And having laid certain commands upon him restor'd him to his former Dignity.

10. How noble an Example of Clemency afforded was *Cn. Pompey*, how miserable an Example of Pity desired! For he that had impai'd the Brows of *Tigranes* with Regal Ornaments, his Head dispos'd of Three Triumphal Crowns, could not finde a Burial-place in that, which was but now, his own world : But cut from his Body, wanting a Funeral Pile, was presented as a Gift of *Egyptian* Pertidie; lamentable in the very eyes of the Victor. For assoon as *Cesar* beheld it, forgetful of his Enemy, he put on the Countenance of a Father-in-law; and then, as became himself, he caus'd the Head of *Pompey* to be burnt with most pretious Odours, and paid his Teats to the memory of him and his Daughter. For if the mind of that divine Prince had not been so tender, He that a little before was accompted the Pillar of the *Roman* Empire (for Fortune turns the scales of Humane Affairs) had lain uninterr'd. *Cesar* also hearing of the Death of *Cato*, was heard to say, *That he envied Cato's glory; as Cato had envied his; giving his Estate safe and whole to his Children.* And certainly it would have been no small part of *Cesar's* divine endeavours, to have been the safety of *Cato*.

11. And certainly the Soul of *Mark Antonie* did not want the knowledg of equal Humanity. For he gave the Body of *Mar. Brutus* to his Freeman to bury. And that he might be the more honourably burnt, caus'd him to be covered with his own Imperial Robe; believing him as he lay, not an Enemy, but a Citizen, all hatred now forgotten. And when he understood the Freeman had taken away the Imperial Garment, in great anger he commanded him to be punished, using

first this Speech; *Didst thou not know*, said he, *the Funeral of how great a man I committed to thy charge?* His stout and pious Victory at *Philippi* the Gods willingly beheld, nor could they stop their ears at these words of generous Indignation.

FORAIGNERS.

1. From commemorating *Roman* Examples, being carried into *Macedon*, I am compell'd to set forth the Manners of *Alexander*. Whose Fortitude in War, as it deserved infinite renown, so his Clemency merited high respect and love. He, while he visits all Nations with an indefatigable swiftness, being overtaken at a certain place with a storm of Snow, observ'd a *Macedonian* Souldier, decrepit with age, almost nummed with Cold, himself sitting in a high Chair near the fire. Who therefore considering not the quality, but the age of both, descends from his seat, and with those hands with which he had subdued the wealth of *Perians*, takes the benummed Souldier and leads him to his own seat, saying, *That that would be wholesome to him, which was Capital among the Perlians, to sit in the Kings Chair.* What wonder then if they thought it a pleasure to serve such a Captain so many years, to whom the safety of a Common Souldier was more dear than the grandeur of his own Person? The same Personage also yielding not to any Mortal, but to Nature and Fortune, though faint with the violence of his distemper, yet leaning upon his Elbow, he reacht out his right Hand to all that would take their leaves of him. Who would not run to embrace that hand, which now oppress'd by Fate, sufficed to embrace an Army, with an Humanity as vivacious as his Courage?

2. Humanity is of no robust nature, yet we may declare

declare the Clemency of *Pisistratus*, Tyrant of *Athens*. Who when a Youngman inflamed with the Love of his Daughter, meeting her in the Street, kist her, and being therefore desired by his Wife to punish him, made answer, *If we punish those that love us, what must we do to those that hate us?* A worthy Saying; to which we must adde, that it came out of the mouth of a Tyrant.

Thus he took the affront offered his Daughter; thus the injury done to himself more commendably. For being incessantly taunted and reviled by his friend *Thrasippus* at Table, he so restrained his anger and his tongue, as if he had been one of the Guard reviled by the Tyrant: and as he went away, thinking he had retired sooner than ordinary for fear, he kindly invited him to stay. *Thrasippus* being in the heat of his drink, spit all in his face, and yet he could not move him to revenge. He pull'd away his Sons also, desiring to intercede for the abuses of him that was their Father. The next morning when *Thrasippus* intended to punish himself with a violent death, the Tyrant came to him, and giving him his faith that he should still remain in the same degree of favour with him, kept him from the execution of his purpose. Had he done nothing else worthy of honour or memory, yet by these very acts of his he had sufficiently recommended himself to Posterity.

3. Patient and gentle also was the mind of King *Pyrrhus*, Who hearing that some of the *Tarentines* at a great Feast had spoken largely in his disgrace, he call'd for those that were present, and demanded of them, if they had spoken those things which he had been told. Whereupon one of them made answer, *If our Wine had not fail'd us, those things which we spoke of thee, would have been but baubles and trifles, to what we should have said.* This so pleasant excuse of

their Drunkenness, and simple confession of the truth, turn'd the Kings Anger into laughter; by which Clemency of his he so far prevail'd, that the sober *Tarentines* gave him thanks, and those that had been drunk wish'd him well. The same height of Humanity caused him to send *Mico* with a Convoy for the greater safety of the *Roman* Ambassadors, whom he heard were coming toward him for the redemption of Captives. And for their more honourable reception, he himself with a Body of Horse richly attired went out of the Camp to meet them. Not so much corrupted with the success of Prosperity, as to hinder all prospect of respect from them with whom he was at greatest Enmity.

4. Of which mild temper he received the due reward at the last hour of his death. For when he had invaded the City of *Argos* with most dismal Omens, and that *Alcyonius* the Son of King *Antigonus* had brought his head cut off, with great joy, as a most happy act of Victory to his Father, labouring in the defence of the City; *Antigonus* rebuking his Son for insulting over the ruine of so great a man, forgetful of humane Calamity, took up his Head from the ground, and cover'd it with the Hood wherewith his own head was cover'd, after the manner of the *Macedonians*, and caused it, being return'd to the body, to be honourably burnt. And when his Son *Heleneus* was brought a prisoner to him, he commanded him to bear a Royal Minde, and to continue his Regal Habit, and moreover gave him the bones of *Pyrrhus*, inclosed in a Golden Chest, to carry into his Countrey of *Epirus* to his Brother *Alexander*.

5. The *Campanians* also, when our Army was compell'd by the *Samnites* to pass under Gallowses at *Caudium*, entring their City not only unarmed but naked, received them as kindly as if they had enter'd

in Triumph, bearing the Spoils of their enemies before them. Immediately presenting the Consul with all the Ensignes of his Honour, and bestowing upon the Souldiers Cloaths, Arms, Horses and Provision, taking away the want and deformity of the *Roman* overthrow. Had they been as constant against *Hannibal* for the *Roman* Empire, they had not given an occasion for the rage of the cruel Axes.

6. Having made mention of a most bitter Enemy, with those actions of kindness which he performed to the *Romans*, I shall make an end of the subject in hand. For *Hannibal* having sought the body of *Æmilius Paulus* slain at *Cannæ*, with all diligence, as much as in him lay, would not permit it to lye unburied. He also caused the body of *T. Gracchus*, who fell unhappily into the ambushment of the *Lucans*, to be honourably buried, and deliver'd his bones, to be carried into his own Countrey, to our Souldiers. When *Marcellus* was slain in the Countrey of the *Bruttii*, while with more eagerness than consideration he endeavoured to spy the actions of the *Carthaginians*, he sought him out, and laid him upon the Funeral Pile, clad in a *Carthaginian* Jacket, and adorn'd with a Crown of Gold. And therefore the sweetness of Humanity penetrates into the very breasts of rude Barbarians, mollifies the cruel and severe eyes of Enemies, and bends the most insolent pride of Victory. Nor is it a difficult thing for Clemency to finde an easie passage through hostile Weapons, and Swords drawn hand to hand. It overcomes Anger, throws down Rage, and mingles hostile Blood with hostile Tears. Which produced that admirable Speech of *Hannibal*, delivering his judgment at the Funerals of the *Roman* Captains. Wherefore *Paulus*, *Marcellus* and *Gracchus* brought him more honour by their Funerals, than by their Deaths. For he deceived them with his *Punic*

subtily, but honoured them with his *Roman* Clemency. And you, brave and pious Souls, have enjoyed Obsequies not to be repented of; for as you fell more desirably in your Country, more nobly for your Country; so ye recover'd the honour of that last office due to ye, which by misfortune ye had lost.

CHAP. II.

Of Gratitude.

Among the ROMANS.

1. *The Roman Senate.*
2. *The Roman Youth.*
3. *The Roman People.*
4. *M. Minutius Rufus
Master of the Horse.*
5. *Q. Terentius Culeo.*
6. *Citizens redeem'd in
Greece.*
7. *Q. Metellus Pius Cos.*

8. *Caius Marius Cos. IV.*

9. *L. Sylla Dictator.*

10. *The Libitines.*

Of Forreign Kings.

1. *Darius of Persia.*
2. *Mithridates of Pontus.*
3. *Attalus of Asia.*
4. *Massinissa of Numidia.*

NEXT let us take a view of the grateful and ingrateful effects and actions of the Minde, that Virtue and Vice may receive their due reward, from a true estimate of the value of either. However, because they are distinguished by contrary ends and desires, we also intend to separate them in writing: And therefore let us begin with those things, that rather deserve praise than reprehension.

1. And that we may take our rise from public Acts, let us take into our consideration *Marcus Coriellanus*, who invading his own Country, and having brought

brought a very great Army of the *Volsci* to the very Gates of the City, threatening the utter destruction of the *Roman* Empire; yet at the intercession of his Mother *Vituria*, and his Wife *Volumnia*, he was perswaded to give over his violent Enterprize. In memory whereof the Senate gave very great Priviledges to the *Order of Matrons*. For they order'd that men should give the upper hand to Women in the street, as acknowledging the Womens Garment to have been a greater safety to their City than their Arms: They added also a new distinction of Coifs to the adornments of their Ears; they also permitted them to wear Purple and Gold Laces; and more then all this, they erected a Temple and an Altar to Womens Fortune, just in the same place where *Coriolanus's* wrath was appeased, to testify their grateful acknowledgment of so great a benefit, by their religious respect and reverence that they had of it.

For which the Senate was no less famous at the time of the Second *Punic* War: For when *Capua* was besieged by *Fulvius*, there were two Women in the Town that would by no means be perswaded from shewing eminent signes of good Will toward the *Romans*; the one named *Vestia Opidia* the Mistress of a good Family, the other *Cluvia Facula* an Harlot; one which dayly sacrificed for the success of the *Roman* Army, the other still supplied the necessities of the *Roman* Captives. The Town being taken, the Senate restor'd them both their Liberty and their Goods; and if they had any other Boon to crave, bid them freely demand it, for that they were as free to give it. It was more wonderful that the Senate had leisure, in a time of so much Exultation, to return thanks to two mean Women, than that they took upon them to do it.

2. What more commendable than that of the Ro-

man Youth, who in the Consulship of *C. Nautius* and *Minutius* lifted themselves voluntarily to give assistance to the *Tusculanes*, who were enter'd into the Territories of the *Æqui*, who had a little before most stoutly defended the *Roman* Empire. A new thing, to hear the whole Army lifting themselves, left their Country should seem to want a grateful mind.

3. A great Example of Gratitude was that of the People toward *Q. Fabius Maximus*: Who dying after he had born Five Consulships, with great success and advantage to the Commonwealth, strove who should bring in most Money to advance the splendour and magnificence of his Funeral. Let us prize the Reward of vertue, when we finde brave Men to be more happy in their Burials, than the sloathful in their Lives.

4. With no small glory was another piece of Gratitude shewn to the other *Fabius*, yet living. For when *Minutius*, Master of the Horse, was made equal in Commission with him being Dictator, by an Act of the Senate, which was never done before, and dividing the Army had fought apart with *Hannibal* in *Samnium*; yet he seeing the great Overthrow he had like to have had by his own Rashness, had not *Fabius* come in timely to his relief, he presently acknowledged him for his Father, and commanded him to be saluted Patron and Preserver by his own Legions; and laying down his Commission of Equality, submitted the Mastership of the Horse to the Dictatorship, as of right it ought to have been; correcting the impudent error of the Vulgar, by the grateful signification of his Minde.

5. A Story to be related upon as good grounds, is, that *Terentius Culeo*, a Pretorian by Birth, and of the Senatorian Order, should follow as he did the Triumphant Chariot of the Elder *Scipio*, with his Cay in his

his hand bare-headed, for that being a Captive to the *Carthaginians*, he had been retaken by him. And therefore he deservedly return'd, in view of the whole people, the acknowledg^ment of a Benefit received from him, as from his Patⁿon, who was the Author of his Liberty.

6. But when *Flaminius* triumph'd over *Philip*, there was not only one, but two thousand *Roman* Citizens that followed his Chariot bare-headed; who having been taken in the *Punic* Wars, and being sold into *Greece*, had been by his care collect^d together and restor'd to their former Freedome. The Honour of the General seem'd redoubled that day, who at the same time let the People see their Enemies by him overcome, their Fellow Citizens by him preserv^d: Also their preservation was doubly acceptable to all, seeing that so many, and those so grateful persons, had recovered their deserved Liberty.

7. *Mecellus*, as famous for his Tears as others for their Victories, obtain'd the name of *Pious*, for his passionate and constant Love of his Father in Exilement: This man being Consul, was not ashamed to entreat the People on the behalf of *Q. Calidius*, Candidate for the Pretorship, because that he being Tribune, was author of the Law by which his Father was recall'd. He always after call'd him also the Patron of his House and Family. Nor did he thereby any way derogate from his greatness which he had obtain'd; seeing that it was not the Lowness of his Spirit, but the Gratefulness of his Minde, which made him submit the grandeur of his Dignity to the greatest desert of an inferiour person.

8. And therefore the Gratitude of *C. Marius* was not only eminent, but seem'd to be the effect of a violent Passiⁿ: For observing two Cohorts of the *Camertians* to have bravely withstood the Fury of the *Cimbrians*,

Cimbrians, contrary to the Condition of the League, he immediately made them free of the City. Which act of his he both truly and nobly excused, saying, *That in the noise and hurry of Battle, he could not hear the words of the Civil Law.* And indeed it was a time then, wherein there was more need to defend, than hear the Law.

9. *Sylla* in the Combat of Praise every where follows the footsteps of *Marius*. For being *Dictator*, he not only uncovered his Head to *Pompey* being a private person; but rising in his Chariot, did alight from his Horse. And this in the Publick Assembly he declared himself to have done willingly, remembering that the other when he was but two and twenty years of Age had taken his part, with his Fathers Army. There were many remarkable things in *Pompey*, but I know not whether any thing hapned to him more remarkable than this, that the surplussage of his kindness caused *Sylla* at length to forget him.

10. And while we talk of Men in high Splendour, let there be some place for meaner Gratitude. For *Cornutus* the Pretor being commanded to bargain for the Funerals of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*; they who provided all Necessaries for Funerals, belonging to the Temple of *Libitina*, promised the use of their things and their attendance *gratis*; because they were slain fighting for their Countrey. And by their constant and earnest desire procured, that the ordering of the Funeral might be at the rate of *Septerce* Money, though at their own charges. Whose praise, setting the Law aside, their condition rather augments than extenuates; seeing them the only contemners of gain, that lived by no other thing than gain.

FORRAIGN Examples.

Let not their Ashes take it ill, if Kings of Forraign Nations come next in order to be mentioned after this fordid tribe, which either was not to be mentioned at all, or else to be placed in the last part of Domestick Examples. But since honest acts done by the meanest ought not to slip our Memory, while they obtain a distinct and proper place, they neither seem to be added to the one, nor prefer'd before the other.

1. *Darius* being yet a private person, was mightily taken with a short Vestment of *Syloson* the *Samian*; and by his more curious viewing of it, caus'd *Syloson* to give it him freely, who so much desir'd it in his mind. But how great a value he put upon that small Gift, he soon made known when he enjoyed the Empire, giving to *Syloson* the whole City and Island of the *Samians* for his possession. Not that he honour'd the price, but the opportunity and season of the Gift; and rather consider'd from whom the Gift came, than to whom it was given.

2. Magnificently grateful also was King *Mithridates*, who made an exchange of all his Prisoners taken from the Enemy, for one *Leonicus* a most stout preserver of his own person from eminent danger, who was taken in a Sea-fight by the *Rhodians*: accounting it more noble to give his most bitter Enemies an advantage, than to be unmindful of one that had so well deserved of him.

3. More liberal yet were the People of *Rome*, for they gave all *Asia* for a Gift to King *Attalus*. Though *Attalus* was not behinde-hand in the Justice of his last Will and Testament, by which he return'd it to them all back again. So that the Munificence of the one, and the Gratitude of the other, cannot be set down

in so many words of praise, as the vast Cities given in friendship and religiously restor'd.

4. Nor can I tell whether the breast of *Massinisa* were not in as high a measure replete with the pierces of Gratitude. For he by the benefit of *Scipio's* and the *Roman* friendship being put into the possession of a very large Kingdome, by a most constant and loyal Amity continued the memory of that noble Gift to the very end of his life, which he enjoyed to a very great age. Infomuch that not only all *Africa*, but all other Nations knew him to be more faithful to the Family of the *Cornelii*, and the City of *Rome*, than to himself. He, though he were very hard put to it by the *Carthaginians*, and was hardly able to defend his own Kingdome, deliver'd to *Scipio Æmilianus*, Nephew to the other *Scipio*, the greatest part of the *Numidian* Army, when he was sent for into *Spain* to the assistance of *Lucullus*, preferring former benefits before the present danger. He now near his end, leaving great Riches and Fifty Sons behind him, besought *M. V. Manlius*, then Proconsul in *Africa*, to send *Scipio Æmilianus* who then was under his command to him; believing he should die more happy, could he but commit his last words and breath to his Embraces. But his death preventing the coming of *Scipio*, he gave in charge to his Wife and Children to acknowledge but one people in the world, the *Romans*; and but one Family among the *Romans*, that of the *Scipio's*. That he left all entire to *Æmilianus*, giving him the sole power of making a division, and that whatever he ordained, they should observe as inviolable, as if he had left it by Will. Thus died *Massinisa*, having prolong'd his life through many and divers varieties of changes to the hundredth year. By these and such other Examples, is well-doing increased and continued among men. These are the Motives, these the Incentives, for

for which we burn with a desire of well-deserving. And certainly these are the greatest and the most splendid sort of Riches, to be accounted opulent in bestowing Riches. The religious regard whereof since we have so far prosecuted, let us now shew how it has been condemn'd, that we may the better know the difference, which is most acceptable and laudable among men.

CHAP. III.

Of Ingratitude.

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| 1. <i>The Senate of Rome to Romulus.</i> | Carbo. |
| 2. <i>The People of Rome toward Camillus and others.</i> | FORRAIGN Examples. |
| 3. <i>Of Sextilius toward C. Cæsar the Oratour.</i> | 1. <i>Of the Carthaginians toward Hannibal.</i> |
| 4. <i>Of Popilius toward M. Cicero.</i> | 2. <i>Of the Spartans toward Lycurgus.</i> |
| 5. <i>Of Cn. Pompey the Great toward Cn.</i> | 3. <i>The Athenians to Theæus.</i> |

1. **T**He Senate placed by the Parent of our City in the highest degree of Honour, yet miserably tore him in pieces in the Senate-House; and thought it no crime to take away his Life, who had given life to the *Roman* Empire. That rude and fierce Age contaminated with the Blood of their *Founder*, the known Piety of posterity cannot dissemble.

2. This ingrateful error of a debauch'd minde shortly after caus'd the sad repentance of our City.
Camillus,

Camillus, the most triumphant Enlarger, and the most certain Defender of the *Roman* Power, yet could not preserve himself in his own City, whose safeguard he had establish'd, encreas'd and enlarg'd. For being accused by *L. Apuleius* Tribune of the People, for having embezzled the Spoils of the *Veientes*, he was by a hard, and as I may say Iron Sentence, condemn'd and sent into Exilement. And at such a time, when having lost a most hopeful Son, he was rather to have been relieved with Comfort, than to have been laden with Calamities. But his Countrey unmindful of the extraordinary Merits of so great a Person, heap'd the affliction of Exilement upon the loss of his Son. Poorly done, for Fifteen thousand Pence (a pitiful Sum) to deprive themselves of so great a Prince. The Elder *African*, when *Rome* was almost quite broken by the Arms of the *Carthaginians*, when she lay bleeding to death, and bleeding out the very last drop, restored her again, and made her Mistress of all *Africa*; in recompence whereof, his Countrey-men confined him to a poor Village near a stinking Lake; of which he seem'd to be sensible to his death, causing this Inscription to be put upon his Tomb: **INGRATEFUL COUNTRIEY, THOU HAST NOT SO MUCH AS MY BONES.** What more unworthy the necessity which they put him to, what more just than his complaint, or more moderate than his revenge? He denied his ashes to a City, which he had preserved from being reduced to ashes. Therefore was this revenge a greater unkindness to ungrateful *Rome*, than the violence which *Coriolanus* offer'd to it. For he onely affrighted *Rome*, this man made *Rome* ashamed: not being willing, such was his piety, to complain of their Severity, till after his Death. For, no question, it was a kind of comfort to him, that his Brother had suffered the same before; who after he had over-

thrown

thrown *Antiochus*, and reduced *Asia* under the subjection of the People of *Rome*, was by the People accused of converting the publick Money to his own private use, and thrown into prison.

No less inferior in Vertue was the Younger *Africanus*, nor yet more fortunate in his end. For after he had quite reduced to nothing two Cities, *Numantia* and *Carthage*, both threatening destruction to the *Roman* Empire, met with his murderer at home, but not with one to revenge his death in all the *Forum*. Who can be ignorant that *Scipio Nasica* was as famous for Counsel, as the other two *Scipio's* were for War? Who kept *T. Gracchus* from strangling the Commonwealth with his pestiferous hands; yet he, because of the low esteem which his Citizens had of his Virtue, under the specious pretence of an Embassie, went into a voluntary Exilement, as far as *Pergamus*, and there spent the remainder of his days, never sought after by his ungrateful Country.

I still keep in the same name, not having yet done with the complaints of the *Cornelian* Family. For *P. Lentulus*, a most famous Citizen and eminent Lover of his Country, after he had overthrown *C. Gracchus* in a pitched field in the Countrey of *Aventinum*, as a reward of that Victory, whereby he preserved the Laws, Peace and Liberty of his Country, was not permitted to live in the City, and therefore wearied with envy and slander, he begg'd a Lieutenantcy of the Senate; and having made a set Speech, wherein he prayed to the Immortal Gods that his ingratelul Country might never have occasion to use him again, he went into *Sicily*, and there spent the remainder of his days.

3. But what Satyr can be sharp enough, what words severe enough to express the Ingratitude of *P. Sextilius*? who being defended and fairly brought off from an Accusation highly Criminal by *C. Caesar*, yet betrayed

trayed and delivered him up to the cruelty of his enemy, coming to his house for shelter in the time of *Cinna's* proscription. Had his accuser implored the same kindness upon his knees, it had bin inhumane to have denied him. For those that injuries do cause us to hate, misery makes us to compassionate. But *Sex-tilius* betrayed not his Accuser, but his Protector, to the cut-throat hand of his most inveterate adversary : if for fear of death, unworthy of life ; if for hope of reward, most worthy of death.

4. To repeat another Example of the same nature. *M. Cicero* had defended *C. Popilius Lenas* of the Countrey of *Picena*, with no less Care than Eloquence, when his Cause was very doubtful. This *Popilius* afterwards, being neither in word or deed injur'd by *Cicero*, of his own accord begg'd of *M. Antonius*, that he might be the person to be sent by him to cut his Throat in his Banishment ; and having obtain'd that detestable Commission, away he flew over-joy'd to *Cajeta* ; and that very person, I need not say who was the author of his dignity and safety, but also one who ought to have been respected by him to the utmost, that very person did he command patiently to lie down, and have his head struck off. And thus laden with the head of the *Roman* Eloquence, and the most famous right hand of Peace, he return'd with joy to the City, as if he had brought along with him the Spoils of some Enemy. Letters are too imperfect to set forth this Monster, seeing there is not another *Cicero* living to bewail his unhappy fate.

5. What shall I say of thee, Great *Pompey*, I know not : While I consider the vastness of thy great Fortune and Renown, that once overspread the Sea as well as the Land. But though we should be silent, the Death of *Cn. Carbo*, by whom thou wert protected in thy youth, when contending in the *Forum* for thy
estate,

estate, slain by thy command, will never be forgotten: by which ingrateful fact, thou didst seem to stand more in awe of *Sylla's* Power, than to consult thine own Honour.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. But lest other Cities should insult, after we have confess'd our own Infirmities; we finde that the *Carthaginians* had an intention to have kill'd or banish'd *Hannibal*, after that for their honour and for the enlargement of their Empire, he had slain so many of our Generals, and cut to pieces so many of our Armies; that had he but slain so many common Souldiers of his Enemies, it had won him renown sufficient.

2. *Lacedæmon* never bred a greater or more profitable Citizen than *Lyeurgus*; being a person that the *Pythian Apollo* did not disdain to speak to, when he consulted the Oracle, and told him, He knew not whether he were to be accompted a Man or a God. Yet neither the Integrity of his Life, nor the constant Love which he bare his Countrey, nor all the wholesome Laws which he had made, could preserve him from the hatred of his Citizens. For sometimes they threw stones at him in the Streets; they put out one of his Eyes, and at last utterly banish'd him out of his Countrey. What may we think of other Cities, when a City so famous as this for Constancy, Moderation and Gravity, proved so ungrateful against a Citizen so well deserving?

3. Take *Theseus* from *Athens*, and either there would have been no such thing as *Athens*, or else not half so famous. For he reduced his scatter'd Countrey-men into one City: and gave the shape and form of a City to a wild and clownish People before. When he was but a Youth, he quell'd the usurping Tyranny

ny of *Minos* : He tam'd the boundless insolency of the *Thebans* : He assisted the Sons of *Hercules* ; and where-ever Enormity was grown headstrong and monstrous, he overcame it by his Vertue and his Power. Yet was he banished by the *Athenians*, and the Island *Seymour*, less than the Exile, became only famous for his Tomb. *Solon* also that made such wholesome Laws, and so famous withal, that had the *Athenians* used them still, they had been still the Lords of great Territories : Who took *Salamine* a strong Fortrefs that threatened their ruine, and was but a little distance from them : Who foresaw the Tyranny of *Pisistratus*, and was the first that durst advise the People to resist him by force of Arms ; in his old age lived an Exile in *Cyprus*. Nor was it his hap to be buried in his own Countrey, of which he had so well deserved. The *Athenians* had dealt well by *Miltiades*, had they, after the Battle of *Marathon*, wherein he overcame the *Persians*, with their loss of three hundred thousand Men, sent him presently into Exile, and not kept him in prison till he died : Nay more than that, they would not suffer his Body to be buried, till *Cimon* his Son had surrender'd himself into the same place. A sad Inheritance for the Son of so great a Captain, who was himself afterwards one of the greatest Captains of that Age. *Aristides* also, who was the Rule of Justice all over *Greece*, and the greatest example of Continnence that ever was, was commanded to depart his Countrey. Happy *Athens*, could they have found out any one that had been either a Good Man, or a Lover of his Countrey, after this man was gone, with whom Sanctity itself seem'd to go along ! *Themistocles* was a notable example of all that had experience of the Ingratitude of their Countrey : For when he had settled *Athens* in Peace, and raised it to be the most famous, the most wealthy, the Mistress of all *Greece*, he found his Countrey-men so incens'd against

gainst him, that he was forc'd to flie to the mercy of *Xerxes*, whom he had ruin'd before. *Phocion*, who was endow'd with two qualities which are the best to appease Wrath and Fury, I mean Eloquence and Integrity, was forced by the *Athenians* to fly his Countrey: and when he was dead, he was not permitted so much as one turf of *Athenian* land to cover his bones. Certainly then it must be lookt upon as a publick piece of Madnesse, by common consent, to punish the greatest Vertues as the greatest Crimes: which not being to be any where endured, ought to have been more especially exploded and abominated in *Athens*, where there is a Law against Ingratitude. And not without reason, because he looses and abolishes the commerce of doing and receiving Benefits, which is the support of human Life, that neglects to return Kindness for Kindness. How severely therefore are they to be reprehended; who having most just Laws, but being very wickedly inclin'd, rather choose to obey their deprav'd manners, than their Laws? So that if it could happen, that those great Persons, whose misfortunes I have related, could appeal to any other Cities, d'ye think they would not quickly have silenced those talkative People, as ingenious as they were? *Marathon* glitters with the *Persian* Trophies; *Salamis* and *Artemisium* beheld the Ruine of *Xerxes* Navy: Those Walls that were pull'd down, rise more glorious from their ruines. But what are become of all those great Men that did these great things? Answer *Athens* for thy self. Thou hast suffer'd *Theseus* to be buried in a little Rock; *Miltiades* to die in Prison, and *Cimon* his Son to wear his Fathers chains; *Themistocles* a Victor to prostrate himself at the Knees of that very person whom he had vanquished; *Phocion* also, *Solon* and *Aristides*, to forsake their Household-gods, when at the same time ye give divine Honour to the Bones of *Oedipus*, infamous

for the Death of his Father, and for marrying his Mother. Read therefore thy own Law, which thou art bound by oath to observe ; and since thou wouldst not give due Reward to Vertue, make just atonements to their injured Ghosts. They are silent ; but whoever reads the ungratetul acts of the *Athenians*, will be severe and free to eternity to reproach so great a Crime.

CHAP. IV.

Of Piety toward Parents.

ROMAN Examples. External Examples.

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| 1. Cn. Marcius Coriolanus. | 1. Pero, a Daughter, gave her father suck in Prison. |
| 2. Scipio Africanus the Great. | 2. Cimon the Athenian. |
| 3. T. Manlius Torquatus. | 3. Two Brothers Spaniards. |
| 4. M. Aurelius Cotta. | 4. Cleobis and Bythion, |
| 5. C. Flaminius Tribune. | Amphinomus and Anap-
pus. |
| 6. Claudia, a Vestal. | 5. Scythians. |
| 7. A Daughter that gave her Mother suck in Prison. | 6. Croesus's dumb Son. |
| | 7. Pulto. |

BUT leave these Ingrates, and talk of those that have been accounted pious ; for honest subjects are more pleasing than Stories of the wicked. Let us come then to those, who have been so fortunate in their Offspring, as never to repent the promotion of Generation.

1. *Coriolanus*, a person of a vast Courage and deep

in Counsel, and well deserving of his Countrey, yet almost ruin'd under the oppression of an unjust Sentence, fled to the *Volsci*, who were Enemies to the *Romans*. For Vertue gets esteem wherever it goes. So that where he only sought for refuge, in a short time he obtain'd the chief command of all things. And it hapned that he, who was by the *Romans* refused for their Leader, had like to have proved their most fatal Enemy. For the *Volsci* having often overcome our Armies, by his Conduct and Valour, came up and begirt the very walls of *Rome*. For this reason the People that were so haughty, as not to value their own happiness, were forced to supplicate an Exile, whose offence they would not pardon before. Embassadors were sent to appease him, but they could do no good: the Priests went in their religious Habits, but returned without obtaining any favour: The Senators were at their Wits end; the People trembled both Men and Women bewail'd their approaching Calamity. But then *Veturia Coriolanus's* Mother, taking along with her *Volumnia* his Wife, and Children also, went to the Camp of the *Volsci*: Whom as soon as her Son espied, *O my Countrey, thou hast overcome my anger, said he, by vertue of this Womans tears, and for the Wombs sake that bare me, I forgive thee, though my enemy;* and immediately he withdrew his Army from the Roman Territories. And his Piety encountred and overcame all Obstacles, as well his revenge of the Injury received, the hopes of Victory, as the fear of Death upon his return. And thus the sight of one Parent changed a most severe War into a timely Peace.

2. The same Piety inflam'd the Elder *Africanus*, hardly past the age of Childhood, to the succour of his Father, and arm'd him with manly strength in the midst of the Battle. For he saved the Consul, being desperately wounded in the Battle which he lost to

Hannibal upon the River *Ticinus* : nothing terrified either by the weaknets of his Age, the rawness of skill in War, or the event of an unfortunate Fight, which would have daunted an old Soldier ; he thereby merited a Crown conspicuous for its double Honour ; he having recover'd from the jaws of death, a Father and a General.

3. Those famous Examples the City only received by hearsay ; these they beheld with their eyes. *Pomponius* the Tribune had accused *T. Manlius Imperiosus* to the People, for that he had exceeded his Commission, out of hopes of making an end of the War, and for sending away his Son, which was a person of very great hopes, from publick employment, to follow his own country-affairs. Which when *Manlius* understood, he came to the City, and went by break of day to *Pomponius's* House ; who believing that he came to aggravate his Fathers Crimes, by whom he had been ill used, commanded all the people out of the Chamber, that he might the more freely take his Examination. The Son having thereby got an opportunity to fit for his turn, drew his Sword which he had brought privately under his Coat, compell'd the threatned and terrified Consul to swear, that he would forbear any farther prosecution of his Father : So that *Imperiosus* never came to his Trial. Piety toward mild Parents is commendable : But *Manlius*, the more severe to himself as Father was, the greater praise he merited, by the assistance which he gave him ; being invited by no allurements of Indulgence, but only natural Affection to love him.

4. This sort of Piety did *M. Cotta* imitate, the very same day that he put on the Coat of Manhood ; when as soon as he descended out of the Capitol, he accused *Carbo* who had condemn'd his Father, and being condemn'd prosecuted him to punishment ; ennobling

nobling his early Youth, and first attempt in publick business, with a famous action.

5. Paternal Authority was equally revered by *C. Flaminius*. For when he being a popular Tribune had publish'd a Law for dividing the *Gallick* Land to every particular man, in opposition to the Senate, and quite against their wills, contemning both their threats and entreaties, and not at all terrified with the threats of an Army, which they menaced to raise against him, if he persisted in his obstinacy; was got into the Pulpit for Orations, reading his Law to the People; yet when his Father pull'd him away, he came down obedient to Paternal Command: no man murmuring in the least to see him break off in the midst of his Speech.

6. These were great effects of Manly Piety; but I cannot tell whether the acts of *Claudia*, the Vestal Virgin, were not as forcible and as courageous. Who, when she saw her Father pull'd out of his Triumphal Chariot, by the rude hand of a Tribune, with a wonderful celerity interposing her self between them, appeased the highest Authority in the City, inflamed with Anger and Malice. So that the Father rode in Triumph to the Capitol, the Daughter to the Temple of *Vesta*. Nor could it be rightly decided to which most praise was due, whether to him whom Victory, or her whom Piety attended.

7. Pardon me most antient Hearths, pardon me eternal Fires, if the context of our work lead us from your most sacred Temple, to the more necessary rather than magnificent part of the City. For no Misfortune, no Poverty cheapens the price of Piety. Rather the trial of it is the more certain, by how much the more miserable. The Pretor had delivered to the Triumvir a noble Woman to be put to death in Prison being condemned for some heinous Crime. But the

Keeper, compassionating her case, did not strangle her presently. All the while he gave her Daughter liberty to come to her, after he had diligently search'd that she carried her no food, believing that in a little time she might be starv'd to death. But seeing her live many days without any alteration, he began to consider with himself by what means she kept herself alive; thereupon more diligently watching her Daughter, he observ'd her giving her Breast to her Mother, and pacifying the rage of her hunger with her Nipples. The novelty of which wonderful sight, being by him related to the Triumvir, by the Triumvir to the Pretor, by the Pretor to the Council of the Judges, they granted the Woman her pardon. What will not Piety invent, that for the preservation of a Parent in prison, found out so strange a means as this? For what more unusual, what more unheard-of, than that a Mother should be nourished by the Breasts of a Child? One would think this were against the course of Nature, but that Nature commands us in the first place to love our Parents.

FORRAIGN Examples.

1. The same is to be said of *Pero's* Piety, who preserved her Father *Cimon*, fallen into the same misfortune, and in Prison, nourishing him like an Infant, in his decrepit Age, with the Milk of her Breasts. Mens eyes are fix'd, and in an amaze, when they behold this piece of Piety represented in painting.
2. Nor can I forget thee *Cimon*, that didst not fear to purchase the Burial of thy Father, with a voluntary surrendering thy own person to imprisonment. For though afterwards it hapn'd, that thou wert both a famous Citizen and a renowned Captain, yet didst thou get more honour in the prison than in the Council-Chamber.

Chamber. For other Vertues deserve admiration, but Piety merits Love.

3. Nor must I forget the two Brothers, whose Courage was more noble than their Birth. Who being born of low Parentage in *Spain*, grew famous by their Deaths; laying down their Lives for the support of their Family. For they having agreed with the *Pacici* for twelve thousand Pieces of Money, to be paid to their Parents after their Death, upon condition that they should kill *Epafus*, Tyrant of that Countrey; not only performed the exploit, but bravely fell in performing it. With the same hands revenging their Countrymen, punishing *Epafus*, providing a maintenance for their antient Parents, and purchasing renown to themselves. Therefore now they live in their Tombs, because they chose rather to support their Fathers in their old Age, than to preserve their own.

4. A more known pair of Brothers were *Biton* and *Cleobus*, *Amphinomus* and *Anapus*: The first, because they drew their Mothers Chariot to the Temple of *Juno*, to perform the Ceremonies there: The other, because they carried their Father and their Mother upon their Shoulders, through the midst of *Aetna's* flames: but neither of them lost their Lives.

5. Nor do I go about to detract from the honour of the *Argives*, or to cloud the glory of the *Sicilians*. But I hold the light of knowledge to the ignorance of a more obscure Piety: which makes me renew the memory of a piece of *Scythian* Piety. For *Darius* invading their Territories with a mighty Army, they retreated before him to the very utmost Solitudes of all *Asia*. Thereupon being by his Embassadors questioned, when they would make an end of flying, or when they would begin to fight, they made answer, *That they had neither till'd Lands, nor any Cities which were worth fighting for; but when they came to the Monuments of their Ancestors,*

Ancestors, then he should know how the Scythians were wont to fight. By which pious answer, that fierce and barbarous Nation redeem'd themselves from the scandal of Savageness. Therefore is Nature the first and best Mistress of Piety, which neither wanting the help of Speech, nor the use of Letters, through her own silent and proper Power infuses Charity into the breasts of Children. What is then the profit of Learning? That their Wits should be more polite, but not more honest. For true Vertue is rather born than acquired.

6. For who taught such People as wander up and down in Carts, that shelter their naked Bodies in the Woods, and live by destroying Cattle like Dogs, to give *Darius* such an Answer? She that taught *Cræsus*'s Son, that was born dumb, to speak for the preservation of his Father. For the City of *Sardis* being taken by *Cyrus*, when one of the *Persians* not knowing who the person was, furiously was going about to have kill'd his Father, call'd back the Sword that was just at his Throat, by crying out aloud to the Souldier, that he should not kill King *Cræsus*. So that he, who till that time was mute, recovered his Speech for the safety of his Father.

7. The same Charity arm'd a Youngman of *Pinna* (surnamed *Pulto*) in the *Italian War*, with the same strength of Body and Mind: Who being Governour of the City when it was besieged, when the *Roman* General caused his Father to be brought forth, and threatned to put him to death before his face, unless he would deliver up the Town, made a Sally, and recovered his Father out of the Enemies hands. Doubly famous, for that he preserved his Father, and yet did not betray his Countrey.

CHAP. V.

Of Fraternal Benevolence.

1. P. Africanus the Great. 3. T. Cæsar Augustus.
2. M. Fabius Vibulanus Cs. 4. A certain Souldier.

NEXT to this kind of Piety follows *Fraternal Benevolence*. For as it may be accompted the first Bond of Friendship, to have received many and great Benefits; the next tye is, that we have received them together. For how abundantly pleasant is the remembrance of those things! Before I was born I liv'd in the same House, My Infancy lay in the same Cradle, The same Persons were Parents to both, The same Vows were made for both, and we enjoy the same honour by our extraction. A Wife is dear to a Husband, Children dear to a Parent, Friends are acceptable, and Acquaintance are delightful; but when you have read what follows, there is no Benevolence that exceeds Brotherly Loving Kindness.

1. And this I speak by the testimony of *Scipio Africanus*, who though he had contracted a most strict Friendship with *Lælius*, yet he besought the Senate that they would not transfer to him his Brothers Provincial Lot which they had taken from him, and promised to go himself Lieutenant to his Brother: So that the Elder became inferiour to the Younger Brother, the stout and courageous to the faint-hearted, the renowned to a person of no fame; and, which is more, he that was already *Africanus*, to him that was not yet *Asiaticus*. So that he assumed one of the most noble Surnames, and gave the other. He received the Imperial

rial Coat of one Triumph, and gave the other; greater by assistance, than his Brother by Superiority of Command.

2. But *Marcus Fabius* the Consul having overthrown the *Vientes* and *Hetrusci*, in a most remarkable Fight, would not accept of a Triumph, which was offer'd him with the full consent of the Senate, and eager desire of the People; because his Brother, a person of Consular Dignity, was kill'd bravely fighting in that Battle. How great was the zeal of Fraternal Charity that was lodg'd in that breast, that could not be extinguish'd by the splendour of so high an honour?

3. For this Example Antiquity is famous; that which follows has been no small Ornament to our Age, who have had the honour to see the Fraternal Yolk of the *Claudian*, and now also the Glory of the *Julian* Family. For so great a Love had our Prince and Parent for his Brother *Drusus*, that when he understood at *Ticinum*, whither he came a Conquerour to embrace his Parents, that his Brother *Drusus* lay dangerous sick in *Germany*, in a frightful amaz he flew out of Town. And the Journey which he made appears from hence to have been so swift, as if he had rode it at one breath; for passing the *Alpes* and the *Rhine*, he posted day and night, changing his Horses, above two hundred Miles, through several barbarous Nations but newly conquer'd, in the company of *Antabagius* only, who was his guide. But in all that hazard and danger, when he had forsaken the company of Men, the most sacred name of Piety, and the Gods that are the favourers of all laudable Vertues, even *Jupiter* himself, the faithful Preserver of the *Roman* Empire, accompanied him. *Drusus* also faint and weak, at that very moment when there is little or no distinction to be made between Life and Death, ordered the
Legions

Legions with their Ensignes to go and meet his Brother. He also order'd a Prætorium to be erected for him upon the right hand, and would make him take the Consular and Imperial Dignity: and at the same time he submitted to the Majesty of his Brother, and the stroke of Death. Nor can any president of Fraternal Love be compar'd to these, unless it be the Exemplar of *Castor* and *Pollux*.

4. However it cannot be a dishonour to the Memory of the most famous Emperours, to mention here the strange Love of a certain Souldier toward his Brother. For he being in pay under *Pompey*, and having slain a Souldier under *Sertorius*, that press'd him very hard, when he came to strip him, and found him to be his own Brother, cursing the Gods for giving him the Victory, he carried him near the Camp, and putting a rich Garment upon him, laid him upon a Funeral Pile. Which as soon as he had kindled, with the same Sword wherewith he had slain his Brother, he thrust himself to the heart, and falling upon his Brother, was burnt in the same flames. He might have liv'd Innocent, had he pleaded Ignorance; but he rather chose to make use of his own Piety, than the pardon of others; and for that reason to accompany his Brother in Death.

C H A P. V I.

Of Piety toward their Countrey.

1. L. Junius Brutus first Consul.
2. M. Curtius the Roman Knight.
3. M. Genutius Cipus Pretor.
4. Q. Ælius Pætus Pretor.
5. P. Decius Consul.
6. P. Decius Brother of Publius Consul.
7. Africanus the Great.
8. The Roman Citizens.

F O R R A I G N.

1. Codrus King of the Athenians.
2. Thraſybulus the Athenian.
3. Themistocles the Athenian.
4. The Philæni, Brothers.
5. Aristotle the Stagiritæ.

WE have seen Piety to private Relations, we are now to shew it toward our Native Countrey; to whose Majesty paternal Authority, almost equal to that of the Gods, has ever submitted, and to which Brotherly Affection willingly yields, and with a great deal of reason too. For a Family may be ruin'd, and yet the Commonwealth be safe; but the ruine of the Commonwealth necessarily draws with it the destruction of every Family. But how can we express in words, what so many have testified at the expence of their own Lives?

1. Brutus the first Consul meeting Aruns the Son of Tarquin the Proud, whom he had expell'd from his Kingdom, in the field ran at him with that fury, that running each other in the body with their Spears, they fell both dead at the same time. I may very well
 adde,

adde, that the *Roman* People paid dear for their Liberty.

2. But when the Earth suddenly sunk in the midst of the *Forum*, leaving a wide hole; and that the Oracle had return'd for answer, that nothing could fill up that concavity, but that which the *Roman* People most valued; *Curtius* a young Gentleman, noble in Birth and Minde, understanding that our City did excel in Vertue and Warlike Prowess, putting on all his Warlike Ornaments, and getting up a Horseback, he put spurs to his Horse, and rid full speed into the dismal Precipice, upon whom the Citizens in his honour cast Fruit and Grain, and then the Earth miraculously closed again. Many wonderful things did afterwards adorn the *Forum*. Yet never did any one come near the Piety of *Curtius* to his Countrey: For which, as deserving the chief place of Honour, I will adde another somewhat like it.

3. *Genncius Cipus* being Pretor, and just coming out of the City in his Habit of General, there beset him a most unheard-of Prodigy. For of a suddain somewhat started out of his Forehead like Horns: and a Voice answer'd, that he should be a King, if he return'd into the City again. Which lest it should happen, he condemn'd himself to perpetual Banishment. A noble act of Piety, which considering the honour it deserves, is to be preferr'd before seven Kings. In testimony whereof, a brazen Image of his Head was set up upon the Gate out of which he went.

4. *Genncius* bequeath'd the inheritance of his praise, than which a greater could not be given, to *Ælius* the Pretor. For when a Crow came and sat upon his Head, as he was sitting in Judgment, the Soothsayers affirm'd, that if he preserv'd the Crow, his Family should flourish, but the condition of the Commonwealth be most miserable; but the Crow being slain, the
quite

quite contrary would happen to both: took the Crow and wrung off his neck in the view of all the Senate. He lost seventeen Souldiers of his Family, all stout men, at the Battle of *Canne*. But the Commonwealth soon after recover'd its glory. But these Examples *Sylla*, *Marins* and *Cinna* laugh'd at as ridiculous.

5. *Decius*, who first brought the Consulship into his own family, seeing the *Romans* ready to fly and almost overthrown in the *Latin War*, vowed his own Life for the safety of the Army, and presently, putting Spurs to his Horse, he flew into the midst of his Enemies, seeking his own Death and the Safety of the Commonwealth: and having made a great slaughter, at length overwhelmed with the multitude of Piles and Darts, the Victims fell. And from his Blood and Wounds sprang an unlookt for Victory.

6. There might have been but one example of such a General, had he not begot a Son answerable to him in courage. For he in his fourth Consulship, with the same devotion and stoutness in fight, with the same event of fortune, sustain'd the weak and sinking force of our City. And therefore it was a difficult thing to understand, whether it were more profitable for the *Roman City* to have the *Decii* Commanders, or to loose them: For living, they kept her from being vanquished, but by their death it overcame.

7. The Elder *Scipio* did not loose his Life for the Commonwealth, but he carefully provided against the destruction of the Commonwealth. For when our City, after the Battle of *Canne*, expected nothing else but to be the Victor *Hannibal's* prey; and that therefore by advice of *L. Metellus*, the reliques of the broken Army were consulting to forsake *Italy*: He being a young Tribune, and drawing his Sword, threatened death to every man that would not take an Oath never

to forsake his Countrey : And not only shew'd an example of Piety himself, but recall'd it back, when it was just forsaking the breasts of others.

8. To come from particulars to generals ; How was the City equally divided in their flames, and equally inflamed with the Love of their Countrey ! For the Treasury being emptied in the Second *Punic* War, that there was not enough for the performance of their divine Ceremonies ; the Publicans going to the Censors, promised to let out their Money, in the same abundance, as if Money had abounded in the City, and not require a Farthing profit till the War was ended. The Matters also of the Slaves whom *Sempronius Gracchus* had made free, for fighting so stoutly at *Beneventum*, forbore to ask any Money for their Service. In the Camp it self there was not a Knight, not a Centurion that desir'd any Pay. The Men and Women also brought what Gold and Silver they had, nay the Children also brought their Purple Coats and Golden Hearts, that hung about their Necks, which were the ensignes of their Ingenuities. Nor would any one take advantage of the benefit of the Senates Decree, whereby such and such were freed from Taxes. For they were not ignorant, when *Veis* was taken, when the Gold which *Camillus* had vowed as the Tenth of their Spoil should have been sent to the Oracle of *Apollo*, but could not be purchased, that the Matrons brought in all their Golden Ornaments into the Capitol. They had also heard, that the Thousand Pound of Gold, which was to be paid to the *Gauls*, when they besieged the Capitol, was made up by their Liberality. And therefore out of their own Goodness, and admonished by the Example of Antiquity, they thought they were not to be outdone.

F O R R E I G N Examples.

1. But I will touch upon some few Forreign Examples to the same purpose. The King of the *Athenians*, *Codrus*, when he saw his Territories wasted and invaded by vast numbers of his Enemies, despairing of humane assistance, sent to the Oracle of *Apollo*, and by his Embassadors desired to know, which way he might avoid that terrible War. The God returned for answer, that it would be ended when he fell by his Enemies hand. Which was not only spread about among his own People, but in the Camp of the Enemy : who thereupon commanded that not a man should touch the body of *Codrus*. Which when the King understood, he threw off his Royal Robes, and in a servile Habit threw himself into the midst of a Squadron of the Enemy, that were out a foraging, and wounding one of them with a scythe, provoked the souldier to kill him ; by whose Death *Athens* escaped ruine.

2. From the same Fountain of Piety flowed the soul of *Thrasylulus*. For he being desirous to free his Country from the oppression of the Thirty Tyrants, and was going about the enterprize with a small number of Men, one of his Company said to him ; How much will *Athens* be indebted to thee, if they regain their Liberty by thy means ? The Gods grant, answered he, *that I may have then paid them what I owe them*. With which With he heap'd a greater honour upon his renowned work of destroying the Tyranny.

3. But *Themistocles*, whose Vertue made him Conquerour, his Countries injury the General of the *Persians*, that he might not be forced to invade it, having instituted a sacrifice, he drank up a full Beaker
of

of Bulls Blood, and fell before the Altar's renowned Victim of Piety.

4. There follows an Example of the same nature. When *Carthage* and *Cyrene* contended most obstinately for a spot of ground; at length it was agreed to send certain Young-men from such a distance, and where ever they met, that place to be the bound of both their Territories. But in this Agreement two *Carthaginian* Brothers, call'd *Philani*, were too hard for the other, setting out sooner and making more haste: which when the Young-men of *Cyrene* understood, they for a long time complain'd of their fallacy; but at length they resolv'd to recompence the injury by proposing a severe condition. For they propos'd to the *Carthaginians*, that that place should be the bounds agreed upon, provided the *Philani* would suffer themselves to be buried there. But the event disappointed their expectation; for they without any delay delivered their bodies to be buried. Who, because they rather desired large bounds to their Country, than large limits of Life, lye entomb'd in honour, the *Punic* Empire being extended by the resignation of their bones. Where are now the proud Walls of *Carthage*? Where is the Maritime Glory of that Port? Where is their Navy, so terrible upon every shore? Where are all their Armies? Where their numerous Squadrons of Horse? Where those Souls that were not satisfied with the vast tract of *Africa*? All these things Fortune divided between two *Scipio*'s. But the destruction of their Country did not abolish the memory of that noble Act perform'd by the *Philani*. So that mortal courage or strength can purchase nothing immortal, but Vertue alone.

5. This Piety was inflamed with youthful Zeal. But *Aristotle*, hardly able to maintain the reliques of old Age in his wrinkled Members, so strongly laboured

red for the safety of his Countrey, that he snatch'd it out of the hands of the *Macedonians*, almost levell'd with the ground and in their possession, as he lay in his little Bed in *Athens*. So that *Stagira* was no less famous for being subverted by *Alexander*, as for being restor'd by *Aristotle*. Hence it is apparent, how kinde, nay how profuse in their piety to their Countreys all ages, all degrees of men have been: And how the truth of wonderful Examples, evident to the world, hath subscribed to the Laws of Nature.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Love and Indulgence of Fathers to their Children.

Among the ROMANS. FOREIGN Kings.

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Q. Fabius Maximus | 1. Seleucus of Syria. |
| Rullianus. | 2. Ariobarzanes of Cap- |
| 2. Cæsetius Flavius. | padocia. |
| 3. Octavius Balbus. | |

L Et the Indulgence of pious and dear Affection of Parents toward their Children set sail; and carried with a fair gale, return home laden with a grateful portion of sweetness.

1. *Fabius Rullianus* after he had been Five times Consul, and every time honourably discharged his Office, admir'd for all the Vertues and Merits of his Life, did not disdain to go Lieutenant to his Son *Fabius Gurgus*, then marching to put an end to a difficult and dangerous War, going into the Field as it were with a Soul without a Body: His old age being more
 proper

proper for the ease of a Bed, than the labour of Combats. He also followed the Triumphers Chariot, whom he had formerly carried in his own: and appeared not the Companion, but the Author of the Triumph.

2. *Cæsius* the Roman Knights fate was not altogether so glorious, yet his Indulgence to his Son was no less; who being commanded by *Cæsar*, now Victor over all his forreign and domestick Enemies, to disinherit and abjure his Son, because that he being Tribune of the People had accused *Cæsar* to the People of affecting the Empire, ventur'd to give him this Answer, *Thou shalt rather take from me, O Cæsar, all my Sons, than compel me to disinherit this one, by my own act.* But he had two sons besides, that were hopeful Young-men, to whom *Cæsar* had largely promised great Preferment. However he preserv'd the other safe, through the Clemency of the divine Prince; Yet who would not think, but that he did more than humane Wit durst do, that would not stoop to him, who had subdued all the World under his command?

3. But I cannot tell whether *Octavius Balbus* were not more kind and ardently affectionate toward his Son. For he being proscribed by the Triumvirs, and being got out of a Back-door of his House, hearing a false report that his son was kill'd at home, he return'd to the slaughter which he had avoided, and delivered himself up to be murthered by the souldiers. The moment wherein he saw his son safe, being of more value to him than his own security. Oh unfortunate eyes of that Young-man, with which he could not avoid beholding a most loving Father expiring for his sake!

FORREIGN Examples.

1. But let us come to things more pleasant to the ear. *Antiochus* the son of King *Selencus*, distractedly in love with his Mother-in-law *Stratonice*, considering with what unlawful flames he burnt, cover'd the impious wound of his breast with a pious dissimulation. Thereupon different Affections being included in the same Marrow and Bowels, unlimited Desires and excessive Modesty had consumed his Body to nothing. He kept his bed, like one ready to expire. His Relations mourn'd; the Father was overwhelm'd with sadness, lamenting the loss of his only son, and the want of succession, and the face of the whole Court was rather Funest, than Royal. But this cloud of sadness was soon dispell'd by the foresight of *Leptines* the Mathematician, or as others say, of *Erasistratus* the Physician; who sitting upon *Antiochus's* Bed-side, observing him to blush when *Stratonice* entered the Chamber, and that his Pulses beat with more life; but that he waxed pale, and fetch'd deep sighs, when she departed again: At length found out the truth, and declared it to *Selencus*. Who without any more ado parted with his dearest Wife to his son: attributing his Love to Chance, but the concealing it to death to his Modesty. Let us now consider *Selencus* as a King, an Old Man, and a Lover, and then it will appear how many and how difficult obstacles did Paternal Indulgence overcome.

2. *Selencus* parted only with his Wife, but *Ariobarzanes* parted with the Kingdom of *Cappadocia* to his son in *Pompey's* presence: whose Tribunal when he ascended, and by him invited sat down also in the Running-Chair, he beheld his son sitting by the Secretary in a seat below his Dignity. Thereupon he presently

presently descended from the Running-Chair, and taking his Diadem from his own, put it upon his sons head, and began to urge him to ascend to the place from whence he came. The Young-man wept, his Body trembled, the Diadem fell out of his hand, nor could he go any further: And, which was almost incredible, he that parted with a Kingdom was glad; he that was to accept it, sad and sorrowful. Nor had that famous contest had an end, had not *Pompey* interposed his Authority; For he called the Prince King, commanded him to take the Diadem, and constrained him to sit down by him in the Running-Chair.

CHAP. VIII.

Persons severe towards their Children.

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|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. L. Junius Brutus first Consul. | quatus the Lawyer. |
| 2. Cassius Viscellinus. | 4. M. Æmilius Scaurus. |
| 3. Titus Manlius Ter- | 5. A. Fulvius. |

1. **T**HE Lenity of the foregoing Parents was Comical, the Severity of these that follow Tragical. *Lucius Brutus* that equal'd *Romulus* in honour; for he founded *Rome*, and this the *Roman Liberty*. He coming to the Supreme Power, and understanding that his Sons endeavour'd to restore *Tarquin*, caus'd them to be apprehended, and to be whipt with Rods before the Tribuna; and after that, caus'd them to be tied to a stake, and then ordered the Serjeant to cut off their Heads. He put off the relation of a Father,

that he might act like a Consul : and rather chose to live Childless, than to be remiss in publick revenge.

2. *Cassius* following his Example, though his Son were a Tribune of the People, and were the first that had promulgated the *Agrarian Law*, and by many other Popular Acts had won the hearts of the people, when he had laid down his command, by advice of his Kindred and Friends, condemn'd him in his own house for affecting the Kingdom : and after he was whipt, commanded him to be put to death ; and consecrated his estate to *Ceres*.

3. *Titus Manlius Torquatus*, famous for his many great Dignities, and a person of rare experience in the Civil Law and the Pontifical Ceremonies, did not think it necessary to consult his Friend in an act of the same nature. For when the *Macedonians* had by their Embassadors complain'd to the Senate of *D. Silanus* his Son, who was Governour of that Province, he besought the Senate, that they would determine nothing in that affair, till he had heard the difference betwixt his Son and the *Macedonians*. Then with the general consent of the Conscript Fathers, and of them that came to complain, he sat and heard the cause in his own House, wherein he spent two whole days alone, and the third day, after he had diligently examin'd the testimonies on both sides, he pronounced this Sentence : *Whereas i, bath been proved, that Silanus, my Son, has taken Mney of our Allies, I think him unworthy to live either in the Commonwealth, or in my House, and I command him forthwith to get out of my sight.* *Silanus* struck with the sharp and cruel Sentence of his Father, would not endure to live any longer, but the next night hang'd himself. Now had *Torquatus* done the part of a severe Judge ; he had made satisfaction to the Commonwealth ; the *Macedonians* had their revenge ; and one would

would have thought, that the Fathers rigour might have bin mollified by the unfortunate end of his Son : But he would neither be present at his Funeral, nor listen to them that came to consult him about his Burial.

4. But *M. Scaurus*, the Light and Ornament of his Countrey, when the *Roman Cavalry* was worsted by the *Cimbrians*, and deserting the Proconsul *Catulus*, took their flight toward the City, sent one to tell his Son, who was one of those that fled, that he had rather meet with his carcass slain in the field, than see him guilty of such a shameful flight. And therefore if there were any shame remaining in his breast, degenerate as he was, he should shun the sight of his enraged Father : For by the remembrance of his youth, he was admonish'd what kind of Son was to be owned or contemned by such a Father as *Scaurus*. Which message being deliver'd him, the young man was forced to make a more fatal use of his Sword against himself, than against his enemies.

5. No less imperiously did *A. Fulvius*, one of the Senatorian Order, keep back his Son from going into the field, than *Scaurus* chid his for running away. For he caus'd his Son, eminent among his equals, for his Wit, Learning and Beauty to be put to death; because he took part with *Catiline*, being seduced by ill counsel : having brought him back by force, as he was going to *Catiline's* Army, and uttering these words before his death, *That he did not beget him to join with Catiline against his Countrey, but to serve his Countrey against Catiline*. He might have kept him in till the heat of the War had been over; but that would have bin only the act of a cautious, this was the deed of a severe Father.

CHAP. IX.

*of those that us'd Moderation toward their
suspected Children.*

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|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. L. Gellius Publicola. | 3. One Fulvius. |
| 2. Q. Hortensius the Ora-
tor. | 4. A certain Parent. |

But to temper this incensed and sharp Severity with a mixture of Clemency, let us joyn acts of Pardon to exactness of Punishment.

1. *L. Gellius*, a person that had gone through all the Offices of Honour, even to the Censorship, when he had almost discovered his Son to be guilty of most hainous Crimes, as lying with his Mother-in-law, and plotting with her to take away his Fathers Life, did not presently run to revenge himself, but after he had consulted almost the whole Senate, after he had charged him, gave him the liberty to speak for himself, and after a strict Examination and Trial, he acquitted him. Had he hasted to cruelty out of the motions of Anger, he had committed a greater crime, than that which he sought to punish.

2. *Quintus Hortensius*, who in his time was the Ornament of the *Roman* Eloquence, shew'd a singular example of Patience to his Son. For, when he knew him to be so debauch'd, that he could not endure his impiety, and for that reason being about to make *Messala* his Sifters Son his Heir, he told the Senate, while he was defending him from an accusation of bribing the Peoples voices, that if they condemn'd him, he should have nothing left but the Kifs of his Nephews.

Nephews. Intimating by those words which he inserted in his Oration, that he reserv'd his Son, rather in the torment of his minde, than among his pleasures: Yet that he might not invert the order of Nature, he left his Estate to his Son, and not to his Nephews. Moderately using his Affections: For that in his life he gave an impartial testimony of his manners, and being dead he did him the honour which was due to his blood.

3. The same thing did *Fulvius*, a man of great Fame and Dignity. For when he had besought the Senate, that his Son, being suspected of Parricide, might be sought for by the *Triumvir*, and apprehended by the Senates Warrant; he not only surceas'd to prosecute him, but also left him all his Estate after his decease. Constituting the person whom he had begot, not the person whose wickedness he had experienc'd, for his Heir.

4. To these merciful Acts of great men, I will adde one new and unusual Example of an unknown Parent: Who finding that his Son lay in wait for his life, and not believing that any true-born and truly-begotten Child could ever harbour such lewd and wicked thoughts, took his Wife one day aside, and asked her very seriously, whether the Child were supposititious, or whether she had conceived him by another? But being assured by her Oaths and Asseverations, that he had not any reason to be in that manner jealous; he at length took his Son with him into a private place, deliver'd him a Sword which he had secretly brought along with him, and bid him cut his throat; telling him withal, that he needed make use neither of Poyson nor Thieves to compleat his Parricide. The immediate thought of which act, not by degrees, but so suddainly possess'd the breast of the young man, that flinging away his Sword, *Live Father*, said he, *live*;
and

and if you are so dutiful, as to permit such a Son to pray, may you excel me in length of days. But I beseech you withal, let not this my Love seem the more ignoble, because it proceeds from penitence. O Solitude more sacred than Bloodshed ! O Woods more free from cruelty than home it self ! O Sword more kinde than nourishment ! O more happy benefit of Death offer'd, than of Life bestow'd !

CHAP. X.

Of those who have courageously born the Death of their Children.

ROMANS.

1. M. Horatius Pulvillus, *Cof. 2.*
2. L. Æmilius Paulus.
3. Q. Marcius Rex.

FORREIGNERS.

1. Pericles the Athenian.
2. Xenophon.
3. Anaxagoras.

HAVING made a relation of such Parents as patiently brooked the Injuries of their Children, let us speak of such as have born their Death courageously.

1. *Horatius Pulvillus* being to dedicate a Temple in the Capitol of *Jupiter*, as he was holding the post, and ready to pronounce certain solemn words, news was brought him that his Son was dead : But he neither took his hand off the post, nor made the least interruption in the Dedication of the Temple, nor altered his countenance from the publick Ceremony to his private Grief ; lest he might seem rather to have acted the part of a Father, than a High-priest. *Bury the carcass then,* said he.

2. A

2. A great Example, and no less renowned than the former, is that which follows. *Æmilius Paulus*, the pattern of a most happy, yet a most unfortunate Father, of four Sons which he had, all hopeful and beautiful youths, had translated two into the *Cornelian* Family by right of Adoption, and only reserved two to himself. One of which died four daies before his Fathers Triumph. The other alive in the Triumphal Chariot expir'd the third day after. Thus he that was so liberal in bestowing Children upon others, was himself left childless in a short time. Which Misfortune, that you may know how magnanimously he brook'd it, he made plainly apparent in an Oration which he made to the People, concerning the Actions which he had done for them, by adding this little clause: *When in the highest success of my felicity, I was afraid, most noble Romans, that Fortune would do me some mischief or other; I prayed to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, that if any thing of Calamity threatened the Roman Government, they would exhaust it all upon my Family. And therefore 'tis very well; for according to my wishes, they have so ordered it, that you should rather compassionate my private, than I bewail your publick losses.*

3. I will only adde one Domestic Example more, and then permit my Story to wander. *Q. Marcius Rex* the Elder, Colleague with *Cato* in the Consulship, lost a Son of eminent hopes and piety, and which added to his calamity, his onely Child. Yet when he saw his Family ruin'd and ended by his death, he so suppress'd his grief by the depth of his prudence, that immediately he went from his Sons grave to the Senate-house; and as it was his duty that day, immediately summon'd all the Senators together. So that had he not generously sustain'd his sorrow, he could not have equally divided the light of one day between

a sad and mournful Father, and a stout Consul; not having omitted the good offices of either.

FOREIGNERS.

1. *Pericles* Prince of the *Athenians*, in four days having lost two most incomparable Youths; the very same time, without any alteration in his Countenance, or discomposure in his Speech, made a publick Oration to the People. Nay, according to Custome, he went with his Coronet upon his Head, that he might not omit any thing of the antient Ceremony for the wound of his Family. Therefore was it not without cause, that a person of his magnanimous spirit, obtain'd the Surname of *Olympian*.

2. *Xenophon*, the next to *Plato* in the happy degree of Eloquence, when he was performing a solemn Sacrifice, receiv'd news that the eldest of his Sons, named *Gryllus*, was slain in the Battle of *Mantineæ*: However, he would not forbear the appointed worthip of the Gods, but only was contented to lay aside his Garland; which yet he put on again upon his head, when he understood, that he fell courageously fighting; calling the Gods to which he sacrificed to witness, that he more rejoiced at the noble manner of his Death, than sorrow'd for his loss. Another person would have remov'd the Sacrifice, would have thrown away the Ornaments of the Altars, and cast away the Incense all bedabl'd with tears. But *Xenophon's* body stood immoveable to Religion, and, his minde remain'd fix'd in the advice of prudence. For he thought it a thing far more sad to submit to grief, than to think of the loss which he had sustain'd.

3. Neither was *Anaxagoras* to be suppress'd. For hearing the news of his Sons death: *Thou tellest me*, said he, *nothing new or unexpected: For I knew, that*

as he was begot by me, he was mortal. These expressions were the voice of Vertue, season'd with most wholesome Precepts, which whosoever rightly understands, will consider, that Children are so to be begot, as that we may remember, that the Law of Nature has prescrib'd them a Law of receiving and yielding up their breath, both at the same moment: And that as no man ever died that did not live, so no man ever lived that must not dye.

LIB. VI.

CHAP. I.

Of Chastity.

ROMANS.

1. Lucretia.
2. L. Virginus.
3. Pontius Aufidianus
Roman Knight.
4. P. Mænius.
5. Q. Fabius Maximus
Servilianus.
6. P. Attilius Philiscus.
7. Claudius Marcellus.
8. Q. Metellus Celer.
9. T. Veturius

10. C. Pescentius.
11. Cominius.
12. C. Marius.
13. *Certain private persons
that vindicated private
Adulteries.*

FORRAIGNERS.

1. Hippo a Grecian.
2. Chiomara, wife of Or-
giaguns.
3. *The Teutons wives.*

WHence shall I summon thee forth, fair Cha-
stity, the chief support of Men and Women!
For thou inhabitest the Hearths consecrated to *Vesta*, by
the antient Religion. Thou broodest upon the Cush-
ions of *Jupiter Capitoline*. Thou the pillar of the
Palatium, renderest famous the most illustrious Hou-
sehold-Gods, and the most sacred Genial Bed of *Julia*,
by thy fixed habitation there. Thy Guardianship de-
fends the honour of young Youth. And out of re-
spect to thy Deity, riper age continues incontaminate.
Under thy protection the Matrons Stole, or long
Garment,

Garment is reverenc'd. Come hither then, and know what thou thy self wouldst have others do.

1. *Lucretia* the first Example of *Roman* Chastity, whose manlike Soul was, by the mistake of Fortune, enclosed in a female Body, being constrain'd to suffer herself to be ravish'd by *Sextus Tarquinius*, the son of him surnamed the *Proud*; when she had before an assembly of her Kindred and Friends lamented in most passionate expressions the Injury which she had received, stabbd herself with a Dagger, which she had conceal'd under her Garment. Whose magnanimous Death gave the people an occasion to alter the Kingly Government into Consular.

2. Neither would *Virginus* brook an injury of this nature, though a person of a very Vulgar extraction, but of a Patrician spirit; for lest his Family should be dishonour'd, he spared not his own flesh and blood. For when *Appius Claudius*, the Decemvir, confiding in his power, violently prosecuted the defiling of his Daughter, he brought her forth publicly into the Market-place and slew her: choosing rather to be the Murtherer of a chaste, than the Father of a contaminated Daughter.

3. Nor was *Pontius Aufidianus* endued with less Courage of Minde, being a *Roman* Knight, who finding the Virginity of his Daughter prostituted by a Pedagogue to *Fannius Saturninus*; not content to have put the wicked Servant to death, he kill'd his Daughter. And that she might not celebrate dishonourable Nuptials, he married her to a Bitter Funeral.

4. What shall I say of *Pub. Manius*? What a strict Guardian of Chastity was he! For he punished a Freeman of his, for whom he had a great kindness, only because he had kiss'd his Daughter, being of womans estate; though it might seem not to have bin done so

much out of Lust, as by a mistake of breeding, or long acquaintance. But he thought fit to imprint the Discipline of Chastity into the apprehension of the tender Maid, by the severity of his servants punishment; and taught her by so severe an Example, that she was not only to preserve her Virginity, but her Lips uncontaminated for her Husband.

5. But *Quintus Fabius Maximus Servilianus*, after he had born many great Offices with renown, coming to the Censorship, question'd his only Son for the doubtful loss of his Chastity: and he underwent the punishment, by banishing himself out of the reach of his Father.

6. I should have said the Censor had been too rigid, but that *P. Attilius Philiscus*, who suffered his body to be made use of by his Master for gain, prov'd so severe a Father afterwards: For he slew his Daughter, because she play'd the whore. How sacred then ought we to think Chastity was, in our City, where the Procurers of Lust, did so cruelly chastise it?

7. The Example of a most excellent person and a memorable act follows. *M. Claudius Marcellus*, one of the *Ædils* that rode in the moving Chair of State, accus'd *Scantinius* a Tribune, and summon'd him to answer before the People; because he had given out, that his Son had been abus'd in his Body. But he averring that he could not be compell'd to appear, because he was priviledg'd, and calling the Tribunal power to his assistance; the whole Colledge of Tribunes denied to intercede in a cause where Chastity was call'd in question. *Scantinius* therefore being cited, was condemn'd by that very witness, who was accus'd by himself. For it is said, that the Youngman being produced before the Judgment-seat, with his eyes fix'd upon the ground, observ'd a most resolute silence; by which modest silence he most of all prevail'd in his revenge.

8. Me-

8. *Metellus Celer* also was a most severe chastiser of Libidinous Intent; summoning *Cn. Sergius Silas* to answer before the People, for only proffering a sum of Money to the Mistress of the Family, and condemning him for that single Crime. For then not the deed alone, but the very intention was brought into question; and it was more harm, to have willed an error, than it was profitable not to offend.

9. Thus far the Juridical Gravity: here follows the extrajudicial. *T. Veturius*, son of that *Veturius*, who was delivered bound to the *Samnites* for making a dishonourable Truce with them, when by reason of the ruine of his Estate, and the great Debts of his family, he was forc'd to yield himself in his youth bound to *Plotius*, and was by him severely whipp'd, because he would not permit him to make use of his Body, complain'd thereof to the Consuls: Who acquainting the Senate with the matter, sent *Plotius* to prison. For they endeavour'd to preserve the Chastity of the *Roman* blood safe, in what state or condition soever.

10. And what wonder if all the Conscript-Fathers made this decree? *C. Pescennius*, in Capital matters Triumvir, loaded with the publick chains *Cornelius* a most noted souldier, and one that had been four times advanc'd to be a Centurion of the *Triarii*, or old Souldiers; because he had had private familiarity with a Youth born of free Parents. From whence appealing to the Tribunes, when he spoke nothing of the Fact, but only said, *That he was ready to put in bail, and to make it out, that the Boy had made a publick prostitution of his body for Money*; they absolutely refused to take any cognizance of the matter. Inso-much that *Cornelius* died in prison. For the Tribunes thought it too mean a thing for our Commonwealth to make bargains with men, how stout soever, and

to sell Domestick pleasure at the price of Forraign danger.

11. After the punishment of a lustful Centurion, the severe usage of *Mar. Latorius Mergus*, a Military Tribune, and his ignominious Death, is next to be related: who was cited before the People by *Cominius*, one of their Tribunes, being accus'd by his Muster-master for a force upon his body. Nor would *Latorius* abide the Tryal; but first of all privately fled before Judgement, and then slew himself. Yet though he had satisfied Natures debt by his Death, yet was he by the People condemn'd for the crime of Unchastity; the severe Discipline of the Camp, which was the most certain Guardian of the consecrated Eagle, and of the Roman Empire, prosecuting him even to his Tomb. Because he had committed a force upon the body of him, whose Master and Commander he was.

12. This mov'd *Cains Marius*, then when he pronounced *C. Lusius* his Sitters son, and a Tribune of the People, to be legally slain by *C. Plotius* a common Souldier; becaute he durst impeach him before the people, upon an accusation of abusing his Body.

13. But to give a slight account of those, who have made use of their own instead of the publick Law, in the vindication of their Chastity: *Sempronius Musca* caus'd *C. Gallius* to be whipp'd, for being taken in the act. *C. Memmius* also caus'd *L. Octavius* to be handled after the same manner for the same fact: *Carbo Accienus* was gelt by *Vibienus*, *Pontius* by *P. Cernius*, being both taken in the Act. A certain person also took *Cn. Furius Brochus* in the fact, and deliver'd him over to be abus'd by the whole Family: who counted it no detriment to indulge their own Anger.

FOR-

FORRAIGNERS.

1. And that I may adde Forraign to Domeftick Examples, a *Grecian* woman named *Hippo*, being taken by the Enemies Fleet, flung herfelf into the Sea, that ſhe might preſerve her Chaſtity: whoſe body waſting to the *Erechtean* ſhore, was buried by the Seaſide, and lies cover'd with a little hillock to this day. But *Greece* having committed to eternal memory the honour of her Sanctity, makes her every day more famous.

2. A more vehement this, that which follows a more conſiderate Example of Chaſtity. The Army of the *Gallo-Greci* being all defeated and taken by *Cn. Manlius*, upon the Mountain *Olympus*, the wife of *Orgiagon*, a woman of extraordinary Beauty, was taken likewiſe and forc'd by the Centurion, to whoſe cuſtody ſhe was committed. When ſhe came to that place, where by the Conſuls command the Centurion had ſent to the friends of the Woman to bring her Ranſome, while the Centurion was weighing the Gold, with his eyes fix'd upon the quantity, the *Gallo-Grecian* in her own language commanded thoſe of her own Nation to kill him; and then with the Head cut off in her hand, ſhe went to her Husband, and caſting it at her feet, ſhe related the injury done her, and her own revenge. What part of this Woman can any one ſay was in the power of the Enemy, but her Body? for neither could her Minde be vanquiſhed, nor her Chaſtity taken.

3. But the Wives of the *Teutons* beſought *Marius* their Conquerour, that they might be ſent by him as a Preſent to the Veſtal Virgins, affirming that they would abſtain from the company of men as ſacredly as they ſhould. But that requeſt not being granted
S 3
them,

them, the next night they all hang'd themselves. 'Twas well the Gods did not infuse the same Courage into their Husbands in the field. For had they imitate^d the Vertue of their Wives, they had question'd the Triumphs of the *Tentonic* Victory.

CHAP. II.

What things were freely said or done.

Among the Romans.

1. *The Embassadors of the Privernates.*
2. *Lucius Marcius Philippus Cos.*
3. *Scipio Æmilianus.*
4. *Cn. Calpurnius Piso.*
5. *M. Cato of Utica.*
6. *Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus.*
7. *M. Favonius.*
8. *Helvius Mancius Fermianus.*
9. *Delphilus the Tragedian.*

10. *Marcus Castricius the Placentine.*

11. *Servius Sulpitius Galba.*

12. *A. Casellius the Lawyer.*

Forraigners.

1. *Machæra a Macedonian woman.*

2. *A Syracusan Woman.*

3. *Theodorus the Cyrenean.*

AS I did not invite Liberty, attested as well by the Words as by the Sayings of vehement Spirits; so I will not exclude it coming in my way. Which being scituated between Vertue and Vice, if it keep it self within the bounds of Moderation, may deserve Praise; if it launch out further than the limits of due respect, is to be reprehended: becoming thereby more grateful to the ears of the Vulgar, than approv'd by

Wifemen:

Wisemen ; and is more secure in the pardon of others, than in the providence of the person. But since we have resolv'd to prosecute all the parts of Humane Action ; let us relate the Story upon our own credit, and let others judge as they think fit.

1. *Privernum* being taken, and those persons put to death, who had caus'd the Town to rebel, the Senate mov'd with indignation, consider'd what they should do with the rest of the Inhabitants. Thus their safety was in a fluctuating condition, at the same time subject to the Victors, and those that were incens'd against them. But when they saw there was no way but to submit and petition, they could not forget that they had some *Italian* blood in their Veins. For the chief in Court being examin'd among them, what punishment they deserv'd ; made answer, What punishment they deserv'd, who thought themselves worthy of Liberty. He had taken Arms in words, and had inflam'd the incens'd minds of the Senators. When *Plantius* the Consul favouring the cause of the *Privermates*, put a stop to his stout answer, and ask'd him again, What kind of Peace the *Romans* should make with them, granting them their pardon ? But he with a resolute Countenance return'd again, *If ye grant us good Conditions, let the Peace be perpetual ; if bad, as short as you please.* By which stern Repartie he brought it to pass, that the vanquish'd were not only pardon'd, but enjoy'd the Priviledges of our City.

2. Thus the Captain of the *Privermates* spoke in the Senate. But *L. Philippus* the Consul did not forbear to make use of the same liberty against the same Order. For upbraiding their sloath before the *Rostra*, he told them, *The Commonwealth good in need of another Senate ;* and was so far from repenting for what he had said, that he commanded *L. Crassus*, a man of

great Dignity and Eloquence, to be laid hold on for murmuring against it. But he, thrusting back the Lictor, *Thou art no Consul of mine, said he, because I am no Senator of thine.*

3. What! Were the people safe from the assaults of Liberty? No, it both assail'd them, and found them patiently suffering. *Carbo* a Tribune of the People, and a most turbulent assertor of the *Gracchian* Sedition, and a most absolute firebrand of the growing Civil Wars, having hal'd *P. Africanus* from the very Gate of the City to the *Rostra*, as he return'd with Triumph from the ruins of *Numantium*, there ask'd him his opinion of the death of *Gracchus*, whose Sister he had married: that by the authority of a person so much in credit, he might adde fuel to the fire already begun: Not doubting, but that in regard of their near relation, he would have spoken somewhat affectionately in behalf of his Brother that was put to death; but he answer'd, *That he was legally slain.* Upon which saying, when the whole Assembly incens'd with the Tribunitian fury, began to make a great Clamour, *Hold your peace, said he, you, to whom Italy is but a stepmother.* And when they began to set up another Cry, *You shall never make me fear, said he, those free, whom I brought hither bound.* Thus were the whole People reproved by one man with contempt. What an honour they gave to Vertue! They presently were mute. The *Numantine* Victory fresh in Memory, his Fathers *Macedonian* Conquest, his Grand-fathers *Carthaginian* Trophies, and the Neckes of two Kings, *Persus* and *Syphax*, chain'd to their Triumphal Chariots, stopt the mouths of the enraged Multitude. Nor did silence proceed from fear, but because through the aid of the *Cornelian* and *Æmilian* Families, many fears of the City and *Italy* were put to an end; the People of *Rome* were not free, in respect of *Scipio's* Liberty.

4. And

4. And therefore we need the less wonder that the vast Authority of Pompey contested so often with Liberty. Nor was it without great applause that he took things patiently, because it was his fortune to be a laughing-stock to the license of all sorts of men. *Cn. Piso* when he had indicted *Manilius Crissus*, and saw him, though apparently guilty, to be protected by Pompey; being carried on with a youthful heat and desire of accusation, he tax'd the potent defendour with many great and hainous Crimes: Being then examin'd by him, why he did not accuse him himself? *Do but thou*, said he, *give Sureties to the Commonwealth, if thou art accused, that thou wilt not raise a Civil War, and I will cause the Judges to sit upon thy head, before they sit upon the head of Manilius.* Thus by the same Judgment he maintain'd two persons guilty; *Manilius* by his Accusation, Pompey by his Liberty: and the one he fulfill'd by Law, the other by the profession of his good will, not being able to go any farther.

5. What therefore is Liberty without *Cato*? No more than *Cato* without Liberty. For when he sat Judge upon a Senator, that was very guilty and infamous, and that there were Certificates produced under Pompey's hand, in favour of the party accus'd, he presently caus'd them to be laid aside, reciting the Law, wherein it was enacted that no Senator should make use of any such assistance. The fact is not much to be wonder'd at, considering the person; for what might seem fauciness in another, was in *Cato* known to be Fidelity to his Countrey.

6. *Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus* the Consul, when he was complaining in a set Speech of Pompey's prodigious power, and that all the people began to cry him up; *Shout*, said he, *shout while you may, brave Romans, shortly it will not be lawful for you to do it, and go unpunish'd.*

punish'd. Thus was the power of a potent Citizen nipp'd, on the one side by an envious complaint, on the other side by a sad lamentation.

7. To which eminent Citizen, having his thigh bound about with a white Shalh, *It matters not,* said *Favonius,* upon what part of the body the *Diadem* be worn. Upbraiding his Kingly Power, by cavilling at a little piece of cloth. But he turning his head neither one way nor other, was mighty careful how he acknowledged his power by any chearfulness in his looks, or how he shewed his Anger by any Severity: and by that patience laid himself open to the meanest and lowest sort of people.

8. *Helvius Mancius Formianus*, the Son of *Liber-tinus*, when he was very old accus'd *Libo* to the Cen-sors: In which contest when *Pompey* the Great up-braided him with his low condition, and his old age, and told him withal, that he was sent from the Grave to be an Accuser; *Thou tellest no untruth,* Pompey, said he, *I come from the infernal shades to accuse Libo.* But when I was there, I saw *Cn. Domitius Ahenobar-bas* all bloody and weeping; for that being of a noble Extraction, of an upright Life and Conversation, and a great Lover of his Countrey, he was put to death in the flower of his youth at thy command. I saw there also *Brutus*, famous in the same degree, hack'd and bew'd, complaining that the same calamity beset him, first through thy perfidy, and then by thy cruelty. I saw *Cn. Carbo* a zealous defender of thy youth and of thy paternal estate, in his third Consulship, laden with those chains which thou didst cause to be put upon him; and upbraiding thee, that contrary to all equity and justice, he was slain by thee a private Roman Knight, when he was the greatest Officer in the Commonwealth. I saw in the same habit and condition, a person of the Pretorian Order, *Perpenna*, cursing thy Cruelty; and all with one consent

consent bewailing their hard fate, that they should fall uncondemn'd, under such a young hangman as thou. It was lawful for a Member of a Municipal Town, that still had a twang of his Fathers servitude, with an unbridled rashness and an unsufferable malice to recal to minde the wide wounds which he had receiv'd in the Civil War, now grown dry with age. And therefore at that time he was in the strongest condition to reproach Pompey, as well as in the safest.

9. *Diphilus* the Tragedian, when in the *Apollinary* Plays he came to that Verse, wherein there is this Sentence, *Our misery is, Magnus*; he pronounced the words pointing full upon Pompey: And being rebuk'd by the People, immediately fell to act him, as a person that carried himself too great and bulie in Authority. With the same petulancy he repeated those other words, *The time shall come when thou shalt bewail that vertue.*

10. The mind of *Marcus Castricius* was also inflam'd with Liberty, who being the chief Magistrate at *Placentia*, at what time *Cn. Corbo* the Consul caus'd a Decree to be made, that the *Placentines* should give Hostages, neither obey'd his Authority, nor submitted to Greater Men. And to one that told him, *He had many Swords*, he answer'd, *And I years.* The Legions were amaz'd to behold such stout Reliques of Old Age. And *Carbo's* anger surceas'd of it self, having so little matter to rage upon, knowing how small a part of his life he should deprive him of.

11. But the Accusation of *Ser. Galba* was strangely presumptuous. Who forbore not to tax the sacred *Julius* himself after all his Victories, as he sat in the Seat of Judicature. *Caius Julius Cæsar*, said he, *I took up money upon my bail for Pompey the Great, thy Son in-Law, in his third Consulship: What shall I do? Must I suffer?* He deserv'd to have been turn'd out of the

the Court, for upbraiding him so openly with the sale of *Pompey's Goods*. But he more mild than Clemency it self, caus'd *Pompey's Debt* to be paid him out of his own Treasury.

12. *A. Cæsellius* a famous Civilian, yet how sawcie and impertinent ! For no Favour, no Authority could compel him to make a Bill of sale of those Goods which the *Triumviri* had given away. By that Judgment of his excluding the purchases of Victory out of all course and form of Law. The same person, when he had spoken many things against *Cæsar's Faction*, and that his Friends admonish'd him to be silent: *There were two things*, he answered, *most bitter to most men, that gave him the boldness which he took; that was to say, old Age, and want of Children.*

FORRAIGNERS.

1. A Woman of another Countrey intrudes among so many Men; who being undeservedly condemned by King *Philip* in his drink; *I would appeal to Philip*, said she, *but it must be when he is sober.* The smart sentence rows'd him; and by her present courage she compell'd the King to examine the business more strictly, and to give a juster Sentence. So that she extorted that Justice which she could not get by fair means: borrowing her assistance rather from her frankness of Speech, than from her Innocence.

2. The next now is not only a stout, but a lepid and witty liberty of speech. A very antient Woman, when all the *Syracusans* pray'd for the Death of *Dionysius* the Tyrant by reason of his Cruelty and Oppression, pray'd every day to the Gods for his life and safety. Which when the Tyrant understood, admiring her undeserved kindness, he sent for her, and enquired of her what merit of his made her so careful of him?

him? Then Truly Sir, said she, *the reason of my designe is very well grounded: For when I was a Girl, and that a very severe Tyrant ruled over us, I desired his death; he being slain, one more cruel came in his place: then I prayed that he might be taken out of the way; after whom, we began to feel thee worse than all the rest: And therefore fearing lest if thou shouldst die, a worse than thee should succeed, I pray to the Gods for thy safety. Which facetious boldness, Dionysius himself had not the face to punish.*

3. Between these and Theodorus the Cyrenean there might be a kind of match made for stoutness of mind; as vertuous, though not so fortunate. For when Lyfimachus threatned to put him to death; Truly, said he, *You think you have a great purchase, because you understand the vertue of Cantbarides. But when the King, being incens'd at his Answer, commanded him to be nail'd to the Cross; Fright your Courtiers, said he, with that Sentence; for tis all one to me, whether I sink under ground or above.*

CHAP. III.

Of Severity.

ROMANS.

1. *The Roman People.*
2. *P. Mutius Scævola, Tribune of the People.*
3. *The Senate of Rome.*
4. *M. Curius Dentatus, Cos.*
5. *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.*

6. *M. Horat. Tergeminus.*
7. *The Senate of Rome against Incest.*
8. *The Kinsmen against Witches.*
9. *Egnatius Metellus.*
10. *C. Sulpitius Gallus.*
11. *Q. Antistius the Old.*
12. *P. Scmpronius Sophus.*

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FORRAIGNERS.

2. Athenians.

3. Cambyſes King of Perſia.

1. Lacedæmonians.

IT is neceſſary we ſhould arm our ſelves with Cruelty, while we treat of the terrible and horrid acts of Severity; that having laid our more humane thoughts aſide, we may be at leiſure to give ear to Rigour. For ſuch inexorable Revenge, ſuch ſeveral ſorts of Chaiſement will come to be known, as, though they may be accounted the fortrefſes of the Law, yet ſhould hardly be inſerted into the number of peaceful Pages.

1. *M. Manlius* was thrown headlong from the place from whence he had repulſed the *Gauls*; Becauſe he endeavour'd wickedly to have oppreſſed that Liberty, which he had ſo couragiously defended. Of which ſharp Sentence, this was the Preface; *I lookt upon thee as Manlius, when thou draveſt the Senones headlong down the Rock; when thou becameſt a Changeling, I lookt upon thee as one of the Senones themſelves.* There is a Character of eternal Memory fix'd upon his puniſhment. For, for his ſake it was enacted, that no Patrician ſhould inhabit in the Capitol or in the Caſtle, becauſe he had a Houſe, where now ſtands the Chapel dedicated to *Juno Moneta*. The ſame Indignation of the City brake forth againſt *Sp. Caſſius*: to whom the ſuſpicion of deſiring Sovereignty did more harm, than three magnificent Conſulſhips and two pompous Triumphs did him good. For the Senate and People of *Rome* not contented with putting him to Death, pull'd his Houſe down over him when he was dead, that he might be puniſh'd alſo with the deſtruction of his Houſhold-Gods. Upon the Ground they built a Temple to *Tellus*. Thus the Habitation of a powerful man,

man, is now the Monument of Religious Severity. The same end had *Sp. Melius* by the Sentence of his Country, for the same crime.

So that we finde how great an antipathy the Antients had against the Enemies of their Liberty, by the very Ruines and Walls of their Houses. And therefore the Houses of *M. Flaccus* and *L. Saturnius*, most seditious Citizens, were pull'd to the ground after they were slain. At length *Flaccus's* ground, after it had long remain'd unbuilt, was adorn'd by *Q. Catulus* with the *Cimbrian* spoils.

Titus and *Caius Gracchus* were eminent in our City for their Nobility, and the hope which was conceived of them: But because they endeavour'd the subversion of the Commonwealth, their Bodies lay unburied, and the last Offices due to Mortality were wanting to the Sons of *Gracchus*, and the Nephews of *Africanus*. Their familiar acquaintance also, lest there should be any Friends of the Commonwealths Enemies left, were shut up in a hollow Oak, and tumbled headlong to the bottom of that place in the Prison, which was therefore call'd *Robur*.

2. The same thing did *P. Mucius* a Tribune of the People think lawful for him to do, as the People and the Senate had done before; who burnt all his Colleagues alive; because, being set on by *Sp. Cassius*, they strove to hinder the Election of Magistrates, to the publick hazard of the common Liberty. Never was any thing more confidently acted than this Severity. For he, a single Tribune, durst inflict that punishment upon nine of his Colleagues, which nine Tribunes durst not exact from one Tribune.

3. Severity hitherto, a most rigid Guardian and Assertor of Liberty, was equally as truculent also in the preservation of Discipline and Dignity. For the Senate sent *M. Clodius* to the *Corfi*, because he had

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concluded an ignominious Peace with them : And because they would not receive him, caus'd him to be put to Death in Prison. When once the Majesty of the Empire was broken, how many ways did obstinate Anger vindicate it ! They nullified the Accord, they deprived him of his Liberty and Life, and dishonour'd his Carcass with the ignominious contumely of the Prison, and the *Gemonian* Precipice. And indeed he had deserv'd this extraordinary chastisement of the Senate. But *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, the son of *Hispallus*, had the experience of it, before he deserv'd it. For the Province of *Spain* falling to him by lot, they made a Decree, that he should not go thither, with a reason added, Because he could not behave himself as he ought to do. And therefore the *Questor Cornelius* had very like to have suffer'd upon the Law of Bribery, for living in dishonour without any Provincial employment. Neither was the Severity of the Senate less to *C. Vettienus*, who cut off the Fingers of his left hand, because he would not be forced to the *Italian* War. For they confiscated his estate, and imprison'd him as long as he lived ; causing him to spend his days and waste that life ignominiously in a Jail, which he refused nobly to venture in the Field.

4. This Example *Curius* the Consul imitating, who being forced to proclaim a suddain listing of Souldiers, when none of the Youngmen appeared, having caused Lots to be made for all the Tribes, he commanded the first Name that was drawn to be cited : And because he did not answer to his Name, he made a publick Sale of the Youngmans goods. Which as soon as the Youngman had notice of, he ran to the Consul's Tribunal, and appeal'd to the Colledge of Tribunes : But there *Curius* making a Speech, and declaring that the Commonwealth had no need of a Citizen that knew not how

to obey ; and so sold both his Goods and the Young-man too.

5. In the same manner did *L. Domitius* stand to his panpudding. For when he was Proprætor in *Sicily*, there being a Boar of an extraordinary size presented to him, he commanded the Shepherd that had killed him to be brought before him : and enquiring of him with what Weapon he had killed the beast ; when he found he had kill'd him with a Pike-staff, he caused him to be crucified : having publish'd a Proclamation before, for suppressing the Robberies that were committed in the Island, that no person should carry a Dart. Some would take this to be the height of all Severity ; for it may be disputed on both sides. But the reason and necessities of publick Government will not suffer the Pretor to be counted over-rigorous.

6. Thus Severity exercis'd it self in the punishment of Men : Nor was it less sedulous in the chastisement of Women. *Horatius*, one of those that fought the three *Curatii*, by the conditions of the Combat Victor over all the rest of the *Albans*, when returning home from that renowned field, he found his Sister, a Virgin, bewailing the death of one of the *Curatii*, to whom she was betroth'd, more tenderly than became her age, ran her through with the Sword with which he had so well merited of his Countrey : not thinking them chaste Tears, which were shed for a fond and immature Affection. For which fact being endited before the People, his Father defended him. Thus the inclination of the Virgin toward the memory of her promis'd Husband, was chastiz'd by a fierce Brother, while the Father asserted and defended the Chastisement.

7. The Senate afterwards following the same Example of Severity, commanded *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* and *Q. Marcus Philippus*, the Consuls, to enquire

Tho Bagdell. acter

after those Women who practis'd Incest at the Feast of *Bacchanals*: By whom when many were condemn'd, their Kindred punish'd them all at home; and the ignominy of publick shame, was corrected by the severity of the chastisement: Whereby the more the Women had sham'd our City by their lewd carriage, so much the more fame they brought to it by the Severity of their Punishment.

8. But *Publicia* who poyson'd *Posthumius Albius* the Consul, and *Licina* who poyson'd *Claudius Asellus*, their Husbands, were strangled by order of their next Relations. For those severe men did not think it necessary, where the crime was so evident and notorious, to spend time in a publick Tryal. And therefore as they would have defended the Innocent, they were the early punishers of the Guilty.

9. The Crime of these was great, that excited Severity to so sharp a Revenge: but *Egnatius Metellus* exercised his Severity for a far more inconsiderable matter, who beat his Wife to death for drinking Wine. For which fact he was so far from being accus'd, that he was not so much as reprehended: every one believing, that for good examples sake, she had undergone the punishment of violated Sobriety very justly. For indeed, whatever woman covets the immoderate use of Wine, shuts the door to all Virtues, and opens it to all Vices.

10. Terrible also was the Matrimonial frown of *C. Sulpitius Gallus*, who divorc'd his Wife, because he understood that she went abroad with her head unvail'd. A rigid Sentence; and yet there was some reason for it. For the Law, said he, confines thee to have no other Judges of thy Beauty but my eyes; for these adorn thy self, be thou only fair to these, and do thou believe their judgment: The farther sight of thee, where it was needless, must of necessity be suspicious and criminal.

11. Nor

11. Nor did *Qu. Antistius Vetus* think otherwise, who divorc'd his Wife, because he saw her talking in the street with a certain ordinary freed Woman: for being incens'd at the fault, he prevented the crime; and avoided the injury, that he might not revenge it.

12. To these we must adde *P. Sempronius Sophus*, who divorc'd his Wife, because she went to see a Play without making him acquainted therewith. While this care was taken of old to prevent the Crimes of Women, they were free from offending.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. But though the *Roman* Examples might suffice to instruct the whole world, yet will it not be irksome to know what Forraigners have done. The *Lacedemonians* caus'd the Books of *Archilochus* to be thrown out of their City, because they thought them not modest and chaste enough to be read. For they would not have the minds of their Children season'd with those things, which would be a greater mischief to their Manners than a profit to their Ingenuities. And therefore they punish'd the greatest Poet, or the next to the greatest in the world, by exiling his Verses, because he made smutty Satyrs against *Lycambis*, who had injur'd him.

2. But the *Athenians* put *Timagoras* to death, because that in the Salutation which he gave *Darius*, he flatter'd him after the manner of his own Countrey: taking it in indignation, that the honour of their whole City should be, as it were, submitted to the *Persian* Slavery by the flatteries of one single Citizen.

3. But the Severity of *Cambyses* was more than extraordinary, who caus'd the Skin of a certain corrupt Judge to be flaid from his body, and nail'd upon the Seat, where he commanded his Son to succeed him.

CHAP. IV.

Of things gravely ſaid or done.

ROMANS.

FORREIGNERS.

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| 1. T. Manlius Torquatus. | 1. <i>The Cinninienſes.</i> |
| 2. P. Scipio Æmilianus. | 2. <i>Socrates the Athenian.</i> |
| 3. C. Popilius Lænas. | 3. <i>Alexander the Great.</i> |
| 4. P. Rutilius Rufus. | 4. <i>The Lacedæmonians.</i> |
| 5. M. Junius Brutus Pro-
conſul. | 5. <i>Pædaretus the Spar-
tan.</i> |

TENACIOUS Memory keeps in ſtrict remembrance the great and moſt excellent part of applauſe which thoſe things deſerve among renowned men, which were gravely ſaid or done by them. Among the plentiful Examples whereof, let us ſelect, neither with too ſparing or too liberal a hand, thoſe which may rather ſatiſſie than ſatiate expectation.

1. When our City was in a ſtrange confuſion upon the Overthrow of *Canne*, when the Safety of the Commonwealth hung with a ſlender thread upon the fidelity of our Allies; That they might continue the more ſtedfaſt in the defence of the *Roman Empire*; the greateſt part of the Senate moved, that the Princes of the *Latins* might be admitted among them. As *Annius* formerly and the *Campanians* averi'd, that one of the Conſuls ought to belong to *Capua*, and the other to *Rome*: ſo ſick was then the condition of the *Roman Empire*. Then *Manlius Torquatus*, of the race of him who had overthrow'n the *Latins*, near the River

Veſeris

Veseris in a memorable Battle, with a loud voice declared, *That if any of the Associates durst come to give his vote among the Conscrip't Fathers, he would kill him with his own hand.* The threats of this one single person, both restor'd the pristine heat to the languishing spirits of the *Romans*, and hinder'd *Italy* from advancing themselves to equal Priviledges with our City. For as before they were broken by the Arms of the *Roman* People, so now they gave over, vanquish'd by this mans words.

Equal to this was the Gravity of *Manlius*: For when the Consulship was conferr'd upon him by the consent of all men, and that he refus'd it by reason of the Infirmary of his Eyes, yet for all that was vehemently urged to accept it; *Choise*, said he, *some other person upon whom to confer this Honour; for if ye compel me to take it upon me, neither shall I endure your Customes, neither will you endure the Severity of my Government.* If the voice of a private person was so heavy, what would the Fasces of the Consul have bin?

2. No less mean was the Gravity of *Scipio Æmilianus*, both in the Court, and in his Assembly-Speeches: Who, when *Mummius* was his companion in the Censorship, though noble, yet effeminate and weak, declar'd in a publick Speech before the *Rost'ra*, that he would have acted for the Majesty of the Commonwealth, whether his Citizens had given him a Companion or not.

The same person, when *Ser. Sulpicius Galba* and *Aurelius Cotta*, Consuls, contended in the Senate whether of the two should be sent against *Viriatus* into *Spain*, and that there hapned to be a great dissention among the Fathers, while they all expected him to declare his opinion; *I think it not fit that either of them should be sent*, said he, *in regard the one has nothing, and the other never knows when he has enough.*

Believing, that want and covetousness were Mistresses both alike unfit to teach good government. By which saying he obtain'd that neither were sent into the Province.

3. But C. *Popilius* being sent Embassador to *Antiochus*, to command him to surcease the War which he wag'd against *Ptolomy*; when he came to him, and that the King with a chearful and friendly Countenance held him out his right Hand, he would not give him his own again, but deliver'd him the Senates Letters: which when *Antiochus* had read, he told him, he would consult his friends. But *Popilius* incens'd at his delay, *Before thou goest out of this circle*, said he, *give me the answer which I shall return to the Senate.* You would not have thought him an Embassador that spoke, but the whole body of the Senate: For immediately the King affirm'd, that he would give no farther occasion for *Ptolomie* to complain. And then at length *Popilius* took him by the hand as an Associate. Behold the force of a concise and efficacious Gravity of Mind and Speech! At the same time it terrified the Kingdom of *Syria*, and protected *Egypt*.

4. But I cannot tell whether I should first consider the Words or Deeds of *P. Rutilius*, for there lies an admirable stress in both. When he withstood the urgent request of a certain Friend, and the other very much offended upbraided him in these words, *What need have I then of thy friendship, if thou wilt not do for me what I desire?* made this answer, *What need I of thine, if for thy sake I should do any unbandsome action?* To these words were agreeable those deeds, when rather through the dissention of the two Orders, than for any fault of his own, he was arraign'd, he neither put on sorry Cloaths, nor laid aside the Senatorian Ornaments, nor made any Supplication to the Judges, nor spoke any thing unworthy the splendour of

of his past years : But so order'd it, that his Tryal was rather an Experiment, than any Impediment of his Gravity. And when *Sylla's* Victories gave him liberty to return into his own Countrey, he rather chose to tarry in Banishment, than to do any thing against the Laws. And therefore more justly might we have given the Title of Happy to the Manners of so grave a Man, than to the prosperous Arms of the other more potent Conquerour. Which *Sylla* usurp'd, but *Rutilius* deserv'd.

5. *M. Brutus*, the Murtherer of his own Virtues, before he was the Parricide of the Parent of his Countrey (for by one foul deed he overthrew them all, and defil'd his memory with an unexpiable detestation) as he was going in to his last Battle, to some that told him it was not convenient to fight : Boldly, said he, *I go in to the Battle ; for this day either all things will be well, or I shall have nothing to care for.* For he presum'd he could not live without Victory, nor dye without Security.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. The person beforementioned puts me in mind to relate what was said to *Decius Brutus* in *Spain*. For when all *Lusitania* had surrendred it self to him, and only the City of *Cinnia* obstinately held out, and that the Consul thought to have bought them out, they presently made answer to his Commissioners, *That their Ancestors had only left them their Swords to defend their City, but no Money to purchase their Liberty from a covetous General.* A Saying more noble for *Romans* to have spoken, than to have heard from others.

2. Nature led them into these paths of Severity. But *Socrates*, the most famous Pillar of the *Grecian* Learning, when he was to plead his own Cause at *Athens*,

and that *Lycias* had repeated to him an Oration compos'd by himself, for him to make use of in the Court of Judicature; humble, suppliant, and accommodated to the danger that threatned him; *Take it away*, said he, *for if I could be brought where I might repeat it, in the farthermost deserts of Scythia, there I should think I deserved death.* He contemn'd Life, that he might not want Gravity; choosing rather to dye like *Socrates*, than to live like *Lyfias*.

3. As great as he in Wisdome, *Alexander*, as great in War, shewed himself to be of the same mind. For *Darius* having tried his force in two Battles, and therefore offering him a part of his Kingdome, and his Daughter in Marriage with Ten Hundred thousand Talents; when *Parmenio* told him, that if he were *Alexander* he would accept the Condition: He made answer, *And so would I, were I Parmenio.* An expression worthy of the two Victories, and deserving the third which he obtain'd.

4. This was the effect of a magnanimous Minde in Prosperity; That more generous, whereby the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors testified to his Father the miserable condition of their fortune. For when he impos'd most intolerable Burthens upon their City, they made him answer, *That if he should persist to command them things more grievous than Death, they would prefer Death before his Commands.*

5. No less grave was the Saying of that *Spartan*, who excelling both in Nobility and Sanctity of Mind, being put by the Magistracy which he petition'd for; *I rejoyce exceedingly*, said he, *that my Countrey produces men more worthy than my self.* By which Speech he equall'd the honour he was put by.

CHAP. V.

Of Justice.

ROMANS.

1. *The People of Rome.*
2. *The four Tribunes of the People.*
3. *Ti. Gracchus Censor.*
4. *Colledge of Tribunes of the People.*
5. *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.*

6. *Licinius Crassus the Orator.*

7. *Cor. Sylla Consul.*

FORRAIGNERS.

1. *Pittacus of Mitylene.*
2. *Aristides the Athenian.*
3. *Zealeucus the Locrian.*
4. *Charundas the Thurian.*

TIs now time to enter the sacred recesses of Justice, where alwaies the respect of just and honest Actions is conversant with Religious Observation. Where Modesty is studied, and Desire gives way to Reason; there nothing is reputed profitable that is not honest. Of which our City among all Nations is the most certain and principal Example.

1. When *Camillus* the Consul besieg'd the *Falisci*, a School-master brought over to the *Roman* Camp several Youths, and those the most noble in the City, under pretence of taking them to walk abroad. Not questioning but they being in the power of the *Romans*, that the *Falisci* would submit themselves to our General. Upon which affair, after consultation, the Senate decreed that the Youths should be sent home, lashing their Master all the way, while his hands were tyed behind him. Which Justice of theirs overcame the Minds

Minds of those, whose Walls they were not able to expugn. For the *Falisci* overcome by their Kindnesses, not by their Arms, open'd their Gates to the *Romans*. The same City oftentimes rebelling, but alwaies broken by adverse Fortune, was at length constrained to yield to *Q. Lutatius* the Consul. Against which when the *Roman* People desir'd to have shewn the extremity of their Revenge, when they understood from *Papirius*, who by the Consuls command had writ the Articles of Surrender, that the *Falisci* had surrender'd themselves to the Faith, not to the Power of the *Romans*, they laid aside all their Anger, lest they should be wanting to their Justice; suppressing the force of their Hatred, which is not easily overcome; and the pride of Victory, which easily begets Licentiousness. Another time when *P. Claudius* having by his prosperous conduct taken the *Camerini*, had sold them under the Spear according to custome, though thereby they saw their Exchequer filled with Money, and their Empire enlarged: yet because it did not seem to be done according to the Rules of Honour and Justice, they sought them diligently out, and redeemed them again; assigning them a place of habitation in *Aventinum*, and restoring them their Lands: They gave them Money also to build Chappels and purchase Sacrifices; and by their Justice gave the miserable an occasion to rejoyce in their destruction, being so rais'd again.

What I have related was confin'd within our own Walls and the neighbouring parts; what I now relate has flown over all the world. *Timochares* the *Ambracian* promis'd *Fabritius* the Consul, that he would poyson *Pyrrhus* by the assistance of his Son, who was his Cupbearer. Notice whereof being given to the Senate, they sent Embassadors to give *Pyrrhus* intelligence of it, admonishing him to be careful against such

such kind of treachery. Remembring that their City was built by the Son of *Mars*, and that War was to be carried on by Arms, and not by Poyson.

2. Admirable was the Justice of the four Tribunes of the People at the same time. For when *L. Hortensius* their Colleague had cited *C. Atratinus* (under whose comand they had rallyed the Roman Army, and restor'd the Battle against the *Volsci* at the Lake *Verrugo*) to appear before the People; they swore, that it would be a shame to them, if their General should be guilty. For these noble Gentlemen would not endure to behold him as a Gown-man under the last extremity, whose Life, when in Arms, they had defended with their own Wounds and Blood. Which Justice of theirs so moved the Assembly, that they caus'd *Hortensius* to desist.

3. Nor did they shew themselves less noble in that which follows. When *Titus Gracchus* and *C. Claudius* had exasperated the greatest part of the City, by carrying themselves so severely in the Censorship, *Rutilius* the Tribune accus'd them before the People of High-Treason; moved not only by the publick consternation, but his own private interest, because they had order'd a part of his wall to be pulled down for the benefit of some Publick-place. In which Judicature, while many Centuries of the first Classis openly condemn'd *Claudius*, but all consented to quit *Gracchus*; *Gracchus* cried out aloud, *That if his Colleague suffered, he would undergo the same punishment as he did.* Which Justice of his diverted the storm from both their heads and fortunes. For the People absolved *Claudius*, and *Rutilius* releas'd his Action against *Gracchus*.

4. The Colledge of Tribunes also got great applause: for when one of them, *L. Cotta* by name, under the protection of his sacred Authority, denyed to pay

pay his Creditors, they decreed, that if he would neither pay his Debts nor give Security, they would assist the Creditors in their Appeal : thinking it unjust, that the publick Majesty should be a protection to private Knavery. Thus the Tribunitial Justice drew out *Cotta* lurking in the Sanctuary of his employment.

5. Of which to come to another Example, *Cn. Domitius* Tribune of the People cited *Marc. Scaurus* before the People, being then Prince of the City, to ruine him, if fortune had favour'd him; or at least to eclipse his renown by a Criminal Accusation. While he was thus eagerly thirsting after the blood of *Scaurus*, a Servant of *Scaurus* came to him by night, and promis'd him to discover many great and hainous Crimes, to advance his Accusation. As a Master and an Enemy he consider'd and weigh'd in his mind the Impeachment with different thoughts, Justice overcame his Hatred : For immediately shutting his own ears, and the Impeachers mouth, he caus'd him to be carried to *Scaurus*. An Accuser, I will not say, to be belov'd, but rather to be applauded by the person accus'd; whom the People, as well for his other Virtues, as also for this reason, created Consul, Censor, and High-Priest.

6. Nor did *L. Crassus* behave himself otherwise as to the same Example of Justice. He had alwaies born a most perfect hatred against the Name of *Carbo*, as his profess Enemy; and yet when a Servant of *Carbo's* brought him a Cabinet of his Masters, containing several Writings, which he might have made use of to his ruine, he sent the Cabinet, lockt as it was, and his Servant bound, to his Master. What Justice may we conjecture then flourish'd among Friends, when Enemies and Impeachers one of another so nobly behav'd themselves!

7. *Sylla* desired not so much his own safety, as the
ruine

ruine of *Sulpitius Rufus*, whose Tribunitial rage continually vex'd him. But when he was banish'd, and that he understood that he was betray'd by his own Servant, where he lay skulking; that the Fidelity and Justice of his Decree might be permanent, he caus'd the Freed-man for his perfidiousness to be thrown down the *Tarpeian* Rock, together with his freed-mans Cap, which he had purchased by his Treachery. A most insolent Victor at other times, now most just in his Authority.

F O R R A I G N E R S.

1. But that we may not seem to forget the Justice of Forreigners, *Pittacus* of *Mitylene* was one to whose merits his Citizens were either so much engaged, or else had so much confidence in his Vertues, that they offer'd him the Sovereign Authority of their City; which he so long kept as the War continued with the *Athenians* about the *Sygeum*, or possession of a piece of ground so called. But after he had by a Victory settled Peace, he presently resign'd his Authority against the will of the *Mitylenians*, that he might not be the Lord of his City any longer than the necessity of affairs requir'd. And when by the consent of all the People the half of the Land was offered him, he utterly refus'd the Gift; esteeming it below himself, to lessen the glory of his Vertue by the greatness of his Prey.

2. I must now relate the Prudence of another, that I may also relate the Justice of another. When *Themistocles* had given the *Athenians* wholesome advice to betake themselves to their Vessels, and after that *Xerxes* and his Army were driven out of *Greece* went about to restore the antient dignity of the City, and laid up Treasure secretly to raise his City to the Dominion over all *Greece*; he told the People in publick, that

that he had found out something, which if fortune would suffer it to be brought to pass, there could nothing happen greater or more for the honour of the *Athenian* People; but that it was not a thing to be divulged: and therefore desired them to appoint some person, to whom he might privately reveal it. *Aristides* was deputed. Who when he understood that *Themistocles* intended to have burnt all the *Lacedæmonian* Navy that lay in the Road of *Gytheum*, that it being destroyed, the Dominion of the Sea might belong to them; return'd to his fellow Citizens, and told them, *That Themistocles was hammering that which was very profitable, but very unjust.* Presently the whole Assembly, when they heard it was unjust, bid him say no more of it, and commanded *Themistocles* to desist from his Enterprize.

3. Nothing more prevalent than the following Examples of Justice: *Zalencus* the *Locrian* having strengthend his City with most profitable and wholesome Laws; when his Son, condemn'd for Adultery, according to the Law made by himself, was to have lost both his Eyes, and all the City interceded for the Son, for some time he obstinately refus'd it; but at length, constrain'd by the intreaty of the People, first putting out one of his own Eyes and then one of his Sons, he left the use of sight to both. Thus he rendered to the Law the punishment which it claimed, with a most admirable mixture of Justice; dividing himself into a merciful Father and a just Legislator.

4. But something more severe was the Justice of *Charondas* the *Thurian*. He had pacified the Harangues of his Citizens, that were seditious even to blood and violence, making a Law that if any person entred the Common-hall with his Sword on, he should be presently put to death. Some time after, having been in the Countrey and coming home, he presently call'd

a Hall, and forgetting himself enter'd the Hall with his Sword on. Whereupon being minded of the breach of his own Law, by one that stood next him; *Well*, said he, *the same person shall establish it*; and immediately drawing his Sword, fell upon it and died. When it was lawful for him to have defended or excused his error, he rather chose to make the punishment publick, than put a slur upon Justice.

C H A P. V I.

Of Publick Faith.

Among the Romans. 5. *The Roman Senate.*

1. *The Roman Senate.*
2. *L. Manlius, M. Attilius Cof.*
3. *The Roman Senate.*
4. *The Elder Africanus.*

FORRAIGNERS.

1. *The Saguntines.*
2. *The Petellines.*

WHen this Image is set before our eyes, the venerable Divinity of Truth stretches out her right hand, the most certain pledg of human Safety. Which how it has flourished in our City, all Nations have been sensible of, and we shall make evident in a few Examples.

1. When *Ptolomey* the King had left the People of *Rome* to take the tuition of his Son upon them, the Senate appointed *M. Amilius Lepidus*, the High-Priest, to be Guardian to the young Infant, and sent him to *Alexandria* for that purpose; making use of the sanctity of a famous and most upright person, whose publick Abilities had been sufficiently known among them, lest the

the credit and dignity of the City should have been any way injur'd. This became not only the preservation, but the ornament of the Royal Infancy; so that when he came of age, he knew not of which he had most to boast, whether in the Fortune of his Father, or the Majesty of his Tutor.

2. Famous also was the succeeding piece of *Roman Integrity*. A great Navy of the *Carthaginians* being overthrown near the Coast of *Sicilia*, the Captains of the Enemies, quite out of heart, began to think of making some overtures of Peace. But when it was argued who should go, *Amilcar* refus'd, for fear lest the *Romans* should serve him as the *Carthaginians* had served *Cor. Asina* the Consul, whom they had detain'd a Prisoner in Chains. But *Hanno*, better understanding the *Roman Faith*, very confidently propos'd himself. To whom as he was in treaty, when a Tribune of the People spoke, and bid him take heed he had not the same usage as the Consul *Cornelius* had had; both the Consuls commanding the Tribune to be silent: *Hanno*, cryed they, *from that fear the reputation of our City frees thee*. It had made them famous, that they could be Masters of so great a Captain of their Enemies; but much more famous, that they would not.

3. The same reputation the Conscrip't Fathers observ'd in defending the Priviledges of Embassadors. For when *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius* were Consuls, *Culeo* the Prætor by an order of the Senate caus'd *L. Minutius* and *L. Manlius* to be deliver'd to the *Carthaginian* Embassadors by the Heralds themselves, because they had laid violent hands upon them. The Senate regarding more their own Honour, than the persons for whose sake they did the Justice.

4. These Examples the Elder *Africanus* following, when he had taken a Vessel wherein were several persons, and many of the chiefest among the *Carthaginian*

ginian Nobility, yet he dismiss'd them all untoucht, because they told him, they were sent as Embassadors to him; though he knew it to be an excuse of their own framing, to avoid the present danger; that the Faith of the *Roman* General might rather seem to be deceiv'd, than implor'd in vain.

5. Let us not forget that noble Act of the Senate, by no means to be omitted. *Q. Fabius* and *Cn. Apronius* *Ædiles*, by reason of a Tumult that happen'd, had sent away the Embassadors that came from *Apolonia* to *Rome*. Which so soon as the Senate understood, they caus'd them to be deliver'd up to the Embassadors by the hands of the Heralds; and sent a *Questor* to convoy them to *Brundisium*, lest they should receive any injury in their passage. Could such a Court as that be said to be a Council of mortal Men, and not rather the Temple of Faith? Which was no less admir'd by our Allies, than it was religiously observ'd in our City.

FOR R A I G N E R S.

1. For before the miserable slaughter of the two *Scipio's* in *Spain*, and the destruction of as many Armies of the *Roman* Nation, the *Saguntines* being restrain'd within their own Walls by the victorious Arms of *Hannibal*, when they could no longer resist the *Carthaginian* power, they brought forth all their most precious things into the Market-place, and kindling the Pile, threw themselves into the common and publick fire, that they might not be accounted false to our Alliance. I cannot but believe, that Faith her self, surveying humane affairs; lookt with a sorrowful countenance, beholding such a religious observance of her Laws condemn'd by such a fatal Event to the Arbitration of unjust Fortune.

2. By an act of the same nature, the *Petellines* obtain'd the same applause. Who being besieg'd by *Hannibal*, because they would not forsake our Alliance, sent Ambassadors to the Senate, imploring relief. But the *Romans*, because of their losses at *Cannæ*, not being able to succour them, gave them liberty to provide the best they could for their own safety. So that they were free to accept of Conditions from the *Carthaginians*. However, they, turning their Women, aged and infirm people out of the City, obstinately defended their Walls to the last: So that their whole City expir'd, before they would lay aside their respect to the *Roman Alliance*. Nor did *Hannibal* take *Petellæ*, but the sepulchre of the *Petelian Faith*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the truth of Wives to their Husband.

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|---|---|
| 1. <i>Æmilia, the Wife of the Elder Scipio.</i> | Q. Lucretius Vespulo. |
| 2. <i>Thuria, the Wife of</i> | 3. <i>Sulpitia, the Wife of Lentulus.</i> |

1. **T**Hat we may not omit the Truth of Women in Matrimony, *Æmilia* the Wife of the Elder *Africanus*, the Mother of *Cornelia*, Mother of the *Gracchi*; was so dutiful and patient, that though she knew her Husband had a kindness for one of her Maids, she took no notice of it; because she would not blemish the Conquerour of *Africa* with the guilt of Unchastity. And to far she was from revenge, that after her Husbands death, she set her Maid free, and gave her in marriage to a Freed-man of his.

2. When *Q. Lucretius* was banished by the Triumvirs,
Thuria

Thuria his Wife kept him out of harms way, between the head of the Bed and the cieling of the Chamber, not without great danger to her self. And so true she was to him, that while others that were banished, as he was, wander'd in pinching extremity, in remote Countries among Enemies, he all the while lay safe in the bosome of his Wife.

3. *Sulpia* being kept up very strictly by her Mother *Julia*, for fear she should follow her Husband *Lentulus Crustellio*, banish'd by the Triumvirs into *Sicily*, nevertheless made her escape in a disguise, and with only two Maid-servants and two Men-servants got safe to him. Banishing her self, that she might not fail in her duty toward her Husband.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Fidelity of Servants to their Masters.

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| 1. <i>The Servant of M. Antonius the Oratour.</i> | C. Cassius. |
| 2. <i>The Servant of C. Marius.</i> | 5. <i>The Family of Plotius Plancus.</i> |
| 3. <i>Philocrates the Servant of C. Gracchus.</i> | 6. <i>The Servant of Urbinius Anapio.</i> |
| 4. <i>Pindarus the Servant of</i> | 7. <i>The Servant of Antius Restio.</i> |

IT remains that we relate the Fidelity of Servants to their Masters; so much the more praise-worthy, by how much it was least expected from them.

1. *Marcus Antonius*, a most celebrated Oratour in the days of our Ancestors, was accus'd of Incest; whose Accusers were obstinately importunate with the Judges that his Servant might be examin'd for a witness;

because they pretended that he carried the Lanthorn before him, when he went to commit the Fact. He was at that time a beardless Youth, and saw himself ready to be sent to the Rack, yet never budg'd for it. But when he came home, and saw *Antonius* very much troubled about the business, he earnestly begg'd of his Master, that he might be put to the Rack; affirming, that they should not force a tittle out of his mouth to do him a prejudice. And with a wonderful patience he performed his promise: For being lash'd with many stripes, set upon the Wooden-horse, and fear'd with burning plates of Iron, he overthrew the whole force of his Masters accusation, by standing firm to his preservation. Fortune might be deservedly blam'd, for having imprison'd so pious and stout a Soul in the Body of a Slave.

2. But the Consul *C. Marius*, whose ill success was miserable at the Siege of *Prænestæ*, seeing it in vain to escape through a little Myne under ground, and slightly wounded by *Thelæsius*, with whom he had designed to live, was run through and slain by his Servant, to free him from the cruelty of *Sylla*; though he had large promises made him, to deliver him up to the Victor. The seasonable assistance of whose right hand, no way seems inferiour to the Piety of those who have protected their Masters in safety. Because at that time not Life, but Death was most beneficial to *Marius*.

3. Equally illustrious was the following Example. *Caius Gracchus*, that he might not fall into the power of his Enemies, laid his neck to be cut off by his Servant *Philegrates*. Which when he had cut off with a swift blow, he thrust the Sword still reaking with his Masters blood into his own Bowels. Others call this Servant *Enporus*: I dispute not about the name, only I admire the stoutness of a servile Fidelity, the nobleness of whose Soul had the generous Youth imitated,

he had avoided the threatening danger, by the benefit of his own and not his Servants hand. But now he gave way that the Carcass of *Philocrates* should lye in more splendour than that of *Gracchus* his Master.

4. Another sort of Fury, and another sort of Nobility, but the same Example of Fidelity. For *Pindarus*, the Freed-man of *Cassius*, having slain his Master by his command, after he had lost the Battle of *Philippi*, preserv'd him from the insultings of his Enemies; nor was the Servant ever seen after. Which of the Gods, Revenger of the most hainous Crimes of Mortals, so benumb'd that Valour, that ventur'd to the destruction of the Parent of the Empire, that it should so abjectly trembling submit it self at the knees of *Pindarus*, to avoid the punishment of publick Parricide, which it deserv'd from the hands of a most pious Victor? Thou, thou it was, most divine *Julius*, that didst exact the revenge due to thy celestial wounds, compelling that proud Head; so perfidious to thee, to implore the sordid aid of a Slave, driven to that extremity of fury, that he neither desir'd to live, nor durst to dye by his own hand.

5. Of these calamities *C. Plotius Plancus*, the Brother of *Munatius Plancus* both Consul and Censor, was a sad partaker; who lurking in the Territories of *Salernum*, after he had been banish'd by the Triumvirs, discover'd the Sanctuary of his Safety by his effeminate way of living, and the odours of his sweet Oynments. For thereby the industrious care of those that persecute the miserable, smelt out his secret haunts: By whom the Servants being apprehended, and long tortur'd, denied they knew where their Master was. Then would not *Plancus* endure that Servants, so faithful and exemplary, should be any longer tormented; but discover'd himself, and offer'd his Throat to the Souldiers weapons. Which

contest of mutual good Will, makes it difficult to be decided, whether the Master were more worthy, who had the trial of such a constant Fidelity in his Servants; or the Servants, who were freed from the severity of the Rack, by the just compassion of their Master.

6. What shall I say to the Servant of *Urbinius Panopio*, how admirable was his Faith? Who understanding that certain Souldiers, having found where his Master was, by the treachery of his Servants, were come to the Town of *Reate* to kill him, changing his Garments with him, and putting on his own Ring, he put his Master out at a Back-door, and retiring himself into his Masters Chamber and into his Masters Bed, suffered himself patiently to be kill'd in lieu of *Panpio*. The act is soon related, but the commendation which it deserves is not so easily given. However, *Panpio* testified how much he was beholding to his Servant, by raising him an ample Monument, with a grateful Inscription.

7. I might be contented with these Examples, but the wonder of the Fact compells me to relate one more. *Antius Restio* being proscrib'd by the *Tribuniviri*, when he saw all his Servants busie upon rapine and ransack, in a tempestuous night withdrew himself from his House. Whose flight being observed by a Slave that he had kept severely in Chains, and one that he had burnt in the Forehead with contumelious Letters; the Slave never left till he had overtaken him, to the end he might attend him in his misery. By which most exquisite and dangerous officiousness, he compleated the full measure of a most signal Piety. For when they, whose condition was better at home, minded nothing but the ransack of their Master, he thought the safety of that person, who had been so cruel to him, to be the greatest profit he could enjoy. And when it had been enough to have laid aside his Anger,

Anger, he added Charity. Nor did his good Will end here, but he us'd a Stratagem to preserve his Master. For when he perceiv'd the Souldiers were at hand, he hid his Master, and making a Funeral Pile, got a poor old man whom he flew and threw him into the flame. When the Souldiers ask'd him for *Antius*; pointing to the Pile, *I have thrown him*, said he, *into that Pile, for his cruelty to me.* The Souldiers, believing the probability of the Story, went their way; whereby *Antius* had time to provide for his safety.

CH A P. I X.

Of the Change of Manners and Fortune.

Among the ROMANS.

1. T. Manlius Torquatus.
2. P. Africanus *the Elder.*
3. C. Valerius Flaccus *the Flamin.*
4. Q. Fabius Maximus.
5. Q. Lutatius Catulus.
6. L. Cornelius Scylla *the Happy.*
7. T. Aufidius.
8. P. Rupilius.
9. P. Ventidius Bassus.
10. L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus.
11. Cn. Cornelius Scipio *Afina.*

12. Licinius Crassus *the Rich.*

13. Q. Servilius Cæpio.

14. C. Marius.

15. C. Julius Cæsar.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. Polemon *the Athenian.*

2. Themistocles *the Athenian.*

3. Conon *the Athenian.*

4. Alcibiades.

5. Polycrates.

6. Dionysius *of Syracuse.*

7. Syphax *King of the Numidians.*

A Considerate Change can either adde much to the Trust, or diminish the Care of worthy men; whether

whether we consider our own condition, or the nature of others: For when we perceive some to have risen from low and contemptible beginnings, why should we not then have better thoughts of our selves? Knowing, that it is a foolish thing, to forejudge ones self of perpetual infelicity, and to change our hope, which sometimes rightly favours uncertain things, into certain desperation.

1. *Manlius Torquatus*, when he was a Youth, was looked upon to be of so dull and heavy a disposition, that he was sent into the Countrey by his Father *Lucius Manlius*, a person of great worth, to follow the Plow, as being unfit either for publick or private business. Afterwards he pleaded for his Father, being accus'd for some misdeameanour, and carried the Cause for him. He cut off his Sons head, though a Victor, because he had fought against his command with the Enemy: and with a most splendid Triumph, he reviv'd his Countrey groaning under the *Latin* War. Thus his adverse Fortune clouded him in his Youth, that he might shine more glorious in his Elder Years.

2. *Scipio Africanus* the Elder, whom the Immortal Gods decreed to be born, that there might be a person in whom Vertue might shew it self in all its variety, is reported to have led a debauch'd life in his younger years; remote from the crime of Luxury, yet more soft and idle than his *Punic* Trophies, or his yoking the conquer'd *Carthaginians*.

3. *C. Valerius Flaccus* also, in the time of the Second *Punic* War, began with a lewd course of life: But being chosen Flamen by *P. Licinius* the High-Priest, to the end he might reclaim him; applying himself to the care of the sacred things, and the observation of the religious Rites, and guided by Religion it self, the Captain of Frugality, he became as

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great an Example of Sobriety and Piety, as he was before of Luxury.

4. No person led a more debauch'd Life than *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who afterwards by the signal Victory which he obtain'd against the *Gauls*, purchas'd to himself and his posterity the Surname of *Allobrogicus*. Yet in his elder years, our City could boast of no such Ornament as he was, nor was any person so renowned as he.

5. Who is ignorant how highly the Authority of *Q. Catulus* was advanc'd, at that very time when there was a crowd of famous men living? Whose younger years you will finde to have been guilty of much Luxury and Softness. Which however was no impediment to him, but that he became the Prince of his Countrey, had the honour to have his name shine in the Capitol, and by his own courage to bury a Civil War that was rising with a mighty force to seize the Commonwealth.

6. But *L. Sylla*, till he came to be *Questor*, led a life infamous for his Whoring, Gaming and Drinking. Whereupon it was reported, that *Marius* being engag'd in a very smart War in *Africa*, complain'd that they had sent him such an effeminate *Questor*. But his Vertue, having as it were broken down the fences of wickedness, made a shift to chain the hands of *Jugurth*, quell *Mithridates*, withstand the billows of the War of our Allies, break the power of *Cinna*, and compel him that had despis'd him, when his *Questor* in *Africa*, to fly a proscrib'd Exile into the same Province for safety. Which so various and so contrary acts, he that shall with a serious minde consider, would believe there were two *Sylla's* in one man. I would have call'd him a vicious youth, but a brave man, had he not himself assum'd the title of *Happy*.

7. And as we have admonish'd Nobility to regard
itself

itself by the benefit of repentance, let us adde a few Examples of those that dar'd aspire from meaner beginnings. *T. Aufidius*, who once had the gathering but of a small pittance of the *Asiatic* Tribute, afterwards rul'd all *Asia*, as Consul. Nor did our Allies disdain to obey his Fates, whom they had seen battering the Tribunals of Forreigners. For he behav'd himself faithfully and nobly: plainly demonstrating, that his former way of living, was only the effect of Fortune; but that the present advancement of his Dignity, was to be attributed to the greatness of his parts.

8. *Publius Rupilius* was no Toll-gatherer in *Sicilia*, but only a mean Officer under them; so miserable poor, that he had nothing to keep Life and Soul together, but a small Office that depended upon the leave of the vanquish'd. Yet from him, Consul afterwards, all *Sicilia* receiv'd their Laws, after he had freed them from the terrors of a smart War of the Pirats and Fugitives. I believe that the very Ports themselves, if there be any sence in mute things, admir'd the wonderful change in the Condition of that man. For the same person that they had seen exacting the dayly Customs, the same person they saw giving Laws to Navies and Armies.

9. To this increase of Dignity I will adde a greater. When *Asculum* was taken, *Cn. Pompeius*, the Father of *Pompey* the Great, prostituted to the eyes of the People *P. Ventidius*, a beardless Youth, in the Triumph that he had obtain'd. Yet this was that *Ventidius*, who afterwards triumph'd at *Rome* over the *Parthians*, and reveng'd the death of *Crassus*, miserably foyl'd in a strange Countrey. Thus he that a Captive dreaded imprisonment, now a Victor crowns the Capitol with his success. And this is farther remarkable of the same person, that he was made
 Pretor

Pretor and Consul both in one and the same year.

10. Now let us consider the diversities of Chance. *L. Lentulus* was depos'd by the *Cæilian* Law, of his Consulship, being convicted of Bribery, and yet was created Censor with *L. Censorinus*. Thus Fortune shuffl'd him between Honour and Disgrace; condemning him in his Consulship, and honouring him with the Office of Censor when he was condemn'd; neither suffering him to enjoy a lasting happiness, nor long to abide in a miserable condition.

11. Thus Fortune shew'd her power also in *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina*. Who when he was Consul, being taken by the *Carthaginians* at *Lipara*, and had lost all by the right of War, yet by the favour of Fortune recovered all, and was again created Consul. Who would have thought he should have been brought from the Fasces to the Fetters of the *Carthaginians*? Who would have thought again, that from the *Punic* chains he should have advanc'd himself to the highest degrees of Honour? But yet he was from a Consul made a Captive, and from a Captive became Consul.

12. What? Did not the vastness of *Crassus* Wealth give him the Surname of *Rich*? Yet Poverty afterwards laid upon him the shameful title of a *Bankrupt*; his Goods being sold by his Creditors, because he could not pay the principal; beside the bitter Sarcasme wherewith every one that met him, saluted him, calling him still, *Rich Crassus*.

13. *Q. Cæpio* excels *Crassus* in severity of Fortunes inconsistency. For he having obtain'd the splendour of the Pretorship, the renown of a Triumph, the dignity of a Consulship, the glory of the High-Priesthood, insomuch that he was call'd *The Patron of the Senate*; yet died in Jail, and his Body tortur'd and dilacerated by the cruel hand of the Hangman, became a spectacle of horror to the *Roman* People in the publick place of Execution.

14. The

14. The Life of *Marius* was a strange contest with Fortune; for he withstood all her opposition with a stoutness of mind and body. Being thought unworthy the low honours of an *Arpinate* (for whom it was not lawful to aspire high) he ventur'd to stand for the Questorship at *Rome*. And by his patience in bearing repulses, he rather broke by force, than was admitted into the Senate. He had the same repulses when he stood for the Tribuneship and *Ædileship* in the Field of *Mars*. Standing for the *Prætorship*, he carried the lowest degree, which notwithstanding he obtain'd with great difficulty; for being accus'd for bribing Voices, he was hardly acquitted by the Judges. Yet from that *Marius*, so meanly born at *Arpinum*, so despised at *Rome*, and so abhorr'd a Candidate, sprung that *Marius* who subdu'd *Africa*, drove King *Jugurth* before his Chariot in Triumph, who utterly subdued the Armies of the *Tentons* and *Cimbrians*, whose two Triumphs were beheld in the City, and whose seven Consulships were register'd in the Annal-Books, who had the luck to be created Consul returning from Banishment, and to proscribe his Prosciber. What more mutable or inconstant than his condition? Who among the miserable was most miserable, yet among the fortunate shall be found most fortunate.

15. But *Julius Cæsar*, whose Vertues gave him admission into Heaven, at the beginning of his youth going into *Asia*, being taken by Sea-Rovers, was forced to redeem himself for fifty Talents. For so small a sum as that, would Fortune have the brightest Constellation in the world sold in the *Pyrats Market*. Why then should we complain of her, when she spares not the associates of her Divinity? But the celestial Numen reveng'd his own injury: For presently after pursuing the slaves, and taking them, he crucified them every man.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. We have been intent in relating our own, let us be more succinct in the repetition of Forreign Examples. *Polemo*, a young *Athenian* Gentleman, but infinitely debauch'd, and one that gloried in his shame, rising from a Banquet, not after Sun-set, but after Sun-rising, as he went home saw *Xenocrates* the Philosopher's door standing wide open. Drunk as he was, richly perfum'd, gayly clad, and with his Garland upon his Head, he enter'd the School, that was full of Grave and Learned Men; and nothing asham'd of the manner of his entry, he sat down to throw his drunken Jest upon the noble Disputes and wholesome Precepts that were then utter'd. The company being offended, *Xenocrates* kept his temper, and began to dispute of Modesty and Temperance. The Gravity of whose Speech causing *Polemo* to repent, he first threw his Garland to the ground, presently after he withdrew his arms (a token of Modesty among the *Athenians*) under his Cloak; shortly after he left his feasting Mirth; and lastly, laid aside all his Debauchery; and being cur'd with the wholesome Medicine of one Oration, of an infamous Glutton became a famous Philosopher. For his minde was only a Pilgrim in wickedness, not an Inhabitant.

2. It troubles me to remember *Themistocles* in his Youth; whether I consider his Father that disinherited him, or his Mother that hang'd herself to see the wicked course of life her Son led; when he himself afterwards became the most famous person that ever *Greece* brought forth; and was the pledge either of hope or despair between *Asia* and *Europe*. For the one had him the Patron of her Safety, the other entertain'd him as the Surety of Victory.

3. *Cimon*

3. *Cimon* in his youth was look'd upon as a fool; but the *Athenians* found the benefit of his foolish commands: Compelling them to condemn themselves of stupidity, who had accus'd him of Folly.

4. Two distinct Fortunes shar'd *Alcibiades* between them. The one, that assign'd him a splendid Nobility, vast Wealth, Beauty incomparable, strength of Body, a most piercing Wit, and the passionate love of his Countrey-men: The other, that inflicted upon him Condemnation, Banishment, Sale of his Estate, Poverty, the hatred of his Countrey, and a violent Death. Neither the one nor the other altogether, but by intermission, like the ebbing and flowing of the Sea.

5. *Polyrates*, the Tyrant of *Samos*, lived in such a prodigality of Fortunes favours, that he was admir'd even to Envy, not without cause; his endeavors all prosper'd; his hopes reap'd the fruit of what they desired; his wishes were no sooner nam'd than granted: To desire, and be able to perform, was the same thing. Once only Fortune chang'd her countenance, when he threw a Ring, which he highly esteem'd, into the Sea, that he might not be said to have undergone no misfortune; which however he presently recover'd, the fish being taken that had swallowed it. But he could not always hold this prosperous course of felicity, that swell'd his full sails: For *Orontes*, one of *Darius's* Commanders, having taken him, caus'd him to be crucified upon the highest top of the *Mycalensian* Mountain. From whence the City of *Samos*, long oppress'd by his severe Tyranny, with the joyful eyes of freemen beheld his stinking Arteries, his members besmear'd with Blood, and that left hand, to whom *Neptune* had restor'd the Ring by the hand of the Fisherman, the sad spectacle of Misfortune.

6. *Dionysius* also when he had enter'd upon the Tyranny

Tyranny of *Sicily*, by his Fathers Will, the Lord of a vast Wealth, a Captain of Armies, an Admiral of a Navy, potent in Horse, yet was forced to teach School at *Corinth*, for his livelihood : And at the same time, of a Tyrant being now become a School-master, he warn'd his Elders by such a change, how little they were to trust to Fortune.

7. Next to him follows *Syphax* the King, who underwent the same severity of Fortune ; to whom however at the same time, *Rome* by *Scipio*, *Carthage* by *Asdrubal*, made their addresses for his Friendship. But while he stood thus courted, that he seem'd to be an Arbiter of Victory between the greatest and most potent People in the world ; In a short time after, he was brought chain'd by *Lælius* to *Scipio*, and now lyes prostrate at the feet of him, whom he thought it favour enough before, as he sat upon his Throne, to take by the hand. Thus merely vain, and fragil, and like the baubles Children play with, are those great things which we call Human Power and Wealth : On a suddain they abound, and vanish as soon : In no place or person fix'd upon a stable foundation ; but toss'd hither and thither by the uncertain state of Fortune, miserably they precipitate them into the depth of Calamity, whom but now they had exalted as high as Heaven. And therefore they are neither to be esteem'd nor accounted Felicity, which to the end they may redouble a desire of enjoying them, are wont to oppress with a heavier weight, those that they flatter'd before with their most indulgent favours.

LIB. VII.

CHAP. I.

Of Happiness.

1. Q. Metellus the Macedonian. 2. Gyges the King of Lydia.

WE have related several Examples of the Inconstancy of Fortune ; for there are very few that render her propitious. Whereby it is evident that she is generous and free of her Adversity, but very sparing of her Prosperity.

1. Let us see then with how many degrees of favour she prosecuted *Metellus* from his Infancy to his Death, with an incessant indulgence. She gave him his birth in the Capital City of the World : She gave him most noble Parents : She furnish'd him with admirable parts of Nature, and strength of Body : She married him to a Wife conspicuous for her Chastity & Fertility : She grac'd him with the Honour of Consulship, the Imperatorian Dignity, and the Splendour of a renowned Triumph : She so order'd it, that at the same time he had three Sons living, Consular men ; one also a Censor and Triumpher ; and the fourth a Pretor. She married him Three Daughters, whose Issue he received into his own bosom : And among all these Children born, so many Youths coming to age, so many Nuptial Torches, such an abundance of Honour, Empire and Congratulation, not one Funeral, not one Tear, or the least cause

cause of Sadness. Consider the Heavens, and we shall hardly meet with so perdurable a condition there; while we finde the greatest Philosophers lodging grief and pain in the very breasts of the Gods. Nor was his end unlike the course of his Life. For after he had liv'd a fair age, an easie Death carried him off from the last farewells and embraces of his dearest Pledges; and he was carried to his Funeral-Pile upon the shoulders of his Sons and Sons-in-Law through the City.

2. A noble Felicity this; yet the following was prefer'd by the Divinity it self. For when *Gyges*, puff'd up with the riches and power of his Kingdom of *Lydia*, went to enquire of *Pythian Apollo*, whether any Mortal was happier than he; The God made answer with a low voice, from the hollow retirement of his sacred Den, that *Aglaus Sophidius* was more happy than he. He was the poorest of the *Arcadians*, but the elder of the two: one that never had increas'd the bounds of his own land; contented with the Income of a poor Farm. But *Apollo* meant the true, not the obscure end of a happy Life: and therefore gave that answer to one that insolently gloried in the splendour of his fortune, That he rather approv'd a Cottage in a calm security of content, than the cares and anxieties of a Court; a few clods of earth void of fear, than all the fertile Acres of *Lydia* incumber'd with continual dread; and one or two yoke of Oxen easily maintain'd, than Armies of Horse and Foot, burthensome even to vast expences; and a small Barn subject to no mans Envy, than Exchequers exposed to the covetous desires and rapacious violence of all men. Thus while *Gyges* labours to finde a God to favour his vain opinion, he learns wherein the true and solid Happiness consists.

CHAP. II.

Of things wisely said or done.

By the ROMANS.

1. App. Claudius.
2. P. Scipio Africanus.
3. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
4. L. Fimbria.
5. Papyrius Cursor.
6. *The Senate of Rome.*
6. Xenocrates *the Philosopher.*
7. Aristophanes *the Comedian.*
8. Thales *the Philosopher.*
9. Anaxagoras *of Clazomene.*
10. Demas *the Athenian.*
11. Anacharsis *the Scythian.*
12. Agelilaus *the Spartan.*
13. Hanno *the Carthaginian.*
14. Herennius Pontius *the Samnite.*
15. *The Cretans.*

FORRAIGNERS.

1. Socrates *the Athenian.*
2. Solon *the Athenian.*
3. Bion *of Prienne.*
4. Plato *of Athens.*
5. Antigonus *the King.*

I Will now treat of that sort of Felicity, which is altogether in the habit of the Minde, and is not to be obtain'd by wishes, but is bred in the breasts of men, and advances it self by things famously said or done.

1. It is reported that *Appius Claudius* was often wont to say, *That the People of Rome were better to be trusted with Business than Idleness*: Not but that they understood the pleasure of a calm condition, but because he found that potent Empires were excited to Vertue, by the vicissitude and agitation of Human Affairs. And certainly Business, terrible to name, preserv'd

serv'd the customs of our City in their best condition but Rest, that has a softer name, first fill'd it full of Vice.

2. *Scipio Africanus* was wont to say, *That in affairs of War, it was a shameful thing to cry, I had not thought.* Believing that the transactions of the Sword ought to be carried on with a serious and well-examin'd deliberation. For that Errour is never to be retriev'd, that is committed in the heat of War. The same person denied that an Enemy was to be fought with, but only when there was a kind opportunity, or a pressing necessity. Both prudently said. For to omit an opportunity of acting with success, is the greatest madness in the world: And he that is compell'd to a necessity of giving Battle, yet abstains from fighting, shews a piece of sloth of a pusilliferous consequence. And of those that commit these absurdities, one part knows not how to make use of the benefit of Fortune, the other knows not how to resist the injury of Fortune.

3. It was also both a grave and lofty Sentence, which *Metellus* spoke in the Senate. Who upon the ruine of *Carthage* plainly confest'd, That he knew not whether that Victory might bring more advantage or more mischief to the Commonwealth. For as it was advantageous by the Peace which it occasion'd, so by removing *Hannibal*, it had done harm. For by his March into *Italy*, the sleeping Courage of the *Romans* was rows'd up: And it was to be fear'd, that being freed from so formidable a Rival, it would relapse into its former drowziness. So that he reckon'd it to be as great a mischief for the Nerves of their antient strength to be weaken'd, as for their Houses to be burnt, their Lands to be laid waste, and their Treasures to be emptied.

4. How prudent an act was that of *Fimbria* the Consul!

Consul ! Who being made an Arbitrator by *M. Lutatius Pythia*, a Roman Knight, upon a Security that he had given to an Adversary of his, that he was an honest Man, would never deliver his judgment, lest he should injure the fame of a person unblemish'd by pronouncing against him, or affirm him to be a good man, considering how many qualities were requir'd to make a man such.

5. From the Civil, we will exhibit a Military. Act of Prudence. *Papirius Cursor*, Consul, desirous to rise from the Siege of *Aquilonia* to give the Enemy battle, was told by the Augur that the Entrails of the Fowl promis'd all things prosperously, when there was no such thing. Afterwards being inform'd of the fallacy, he took it however for a good Omen to him and his Army, and gave Battle: But he placed the Impostor in the Fore-front, that the Gods, if angry, might revenge themselves upon the right person. And it hapn'd so, whether by Chance or by divine Providence, that the first Dart which was thrown by the Enemy, hit the Impostors Breast, and struck him dead. Which when the Consul understood, with a renew'd confidence, he fell upon the Enemy, and took *Aquilonia*. So suddenly did he apprehend, which way the injury done to the General was to be reveng'd; how violated Religion was to be expiated; and how Victory was to be obtain'd. He acted the part of a severe Man, a religious Consul, and a stout General: with one kind of thought forcing at the same time the limits of fear, the manner of punishment, and the means of hope.

6. Now I will pass to the Acts of the Senate. When the Senate sent *Claudius Nero* and *Livius Salinator* Consuls against *Hannibal*, and found that as they were equal in Virtue, so they were at as great an enmity one with another; they made it their business

to make them friends, that they might not neglect the publick for their private dissensions. For unless there be a true concord in such Commands, there is a greater desire to keep another from doing good, than to act well themselves: But where there is an inveterate Hatred, they are greater Enemies to one another, than the Adversary they go to fight with. Those very men being accus'd by *Cn. Bibulus*, a Tribune of the People, for their Severity in the Censorship, were by the Decree of the Senate freed from coming to their Tryal: freeing from the fear of Judgment that Honour, which was to take, not to give an account. The same Wisdom of the Senate put *Ti. Gracchus* the Tribune to Death, for daring to promulgate the *Agrarian* Law: yet most prudently order'd, that the Land should be divid'd to every man by the Triumvirs, according to the Law. Thus, at the same time, they took away both the Author and the Cause of a most turbulent Sedition.

How prudently did the Senate behave themselves to King *Massinissa*! For when they had experienc'd the faithful and ready service which he had done them against the *Carthaginians*, they made a Law, whereby they gave *Massinissa* a freedom absolute from the power of the People of *Rome*. By which act, they not only reclaim'd the kindness of a person, who had so well deserv'd of them, but secur'd themselves from the barbarity of the *Numidians*, *Mauritanians* and other Nations adjoining, who before would never rest at peace.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. I should want time to relate Domestic Examples: For our Empire increases and protects itself, not only by strength of body, but by vigour of mnde. There-

fore let the Roman Prudence be silently for the most part laid up in admiration, and give way to foreign Examples of this nature. *Socrates*, a kind of terrestrial Oracle of humane Wisdom, was wont to say, *That there was nothing more to be ask'd of the Immortal Gods, but that they would be pleas'd to give us what things were good for us.* In regard they knew what was profitable for every one; but for our parts we beg those things oft-times, which it were better we should be without. For, oh thou mind of Mortals, wrapt up in thick clouds of darkness, how dost thou diffuse thy blind Prayers into wide Errour! Thou covarest Riches, so pernicious to thousands. Thou desirest Honours, fatal to Multitudes. Thou graspest Kingdoms, as oftentimes overwhelm'd with calamity. Thou layst hands upon splendid Wedlocks, which as they ennoble, as oftentimes overturn whole Families. Cease then foolishly to gaze after the future causes of many mischiefs, as the only happiness to be enjoy'd; but submit thyself to the judgment of Heaven. For they that are able to give, are best able to make the choice.

He was also wont to say, *That they took a very short and compendious way to Honour, who so behaved themselves, as to be really such, as they would seem to be.* Whereby he openly admonish'd us, that men should rather follow Virtue itself, than the shadow of Virtue. The same person, when a Youngman ask'd him Whether he should Marry, or altogether abstain from Wedlock, made him answer, *That let him do which he would, he should be sure to repent.* For on the one hand, said he, there is solitude, want of Children, extinction of Family and a mans estate heir'd by a stranger: On the other hand, perpetual sollicitation, continual wrangling, twittings in the teeth about the Dower, the
frowns

frowns of Kindred, the twatling of the Mother-in-Law, the private friend, and ambushments of Cuckoldry, with the uncertain hopes of Children. Thus he would not suffer the Young-man, in a contexture of bad accidents, to make his choice in a matter of pleasure and delight.

The same person, when the wicked fury of the Athenians had pronounced Sentence against his Life, and that he had received the venomous Potion given him by the hand of the common Executioner, with a stout and constant resolution, putting the Cup to his mouth, made this answer to his Wife Xantippe, crying out in the midst of tears and lamentations that he died innocently; *What then?* said he, *hadst thou rather I should have died an offender?* Oh profound Prudence, that! that would not forget it self, at the very Exit of Life.

2. How wisely did Solon aver, *That no man could be accounted happy, while he was yet alive!* being subject to the doubtful chances of fortune, even to the last gasp. Therefore doth the Funeral-Pile consummate the extent of Humane Felicity, which exposes it self to all the assaults of Misfortune. The same person, when he beheld one of his Friends in a deep affliction, brought him to a high Tower, and bid him survey every part of the lower Buildings: which when he had done, *Consider now with thy self,* said he, *how many occasions of lamentation formerly there were, and still are in those meaner roofs, and will happen hereafter, and cease to bewail the common inconveniencies of Mortals.* By which act of consolation he shewed, that Cities were but the miserable cages of human Miseries. The same person was wont to say, *That if all people were bound to make a heap of their misfortunes in one place, it would so happen, that every man would*

rather carry his own home again, than bear his share of the common heap. From whence he collected, that we ought not to accompt these things most intolerably bitter, which we suffer by chance.

3. *Bis*, when the Enemy had invaded his own native Countrey *Priene*, and that all people whom the ravage of War suffered to get safe away were upon their flight, laden with the weight of what they esteem'd most precious, being asked why he carried away nothing of his own Goods; I, said he, carry all my Goods about me. For he carried them in his Breast, not upon his Shoulders; not to be seen by the Eye, but to be prized by the Minde: Which being preserv'd in the little Sanctuary of the Minde, are not to be injur'd by the hands either of Gods or Mortals: and as they are always at hand with them that tarry, so they never desert them that flie.

4. Short in words, but abounding in sence was the Sentence of *Plato*, who said, *The world would then be happy, when wise men reigned, or Kings began to be wise.*

5. Of a piercing judgment also was that King, to whom, as they report, when the Diadem was brought, before he put it upon his Head, he held it in his hand, and having a long time paus'd upon it, *Oh noble rather than fortunate Linnen*, cryed he, *which he that knew with what cares, dangers, and miseries it was attended, would not take it up from the ground.*

6. How much to be applauded was the answer of *Xenocrates*! who being present at the reviling speeches of another with a seal'd-up silence, and ask'd why he curb'd his tongue so, being alone, made answer, *Because he had once repented him of speaking, but never of holding his tongue.*

7. The Precept also of *Aristophanes* is more exalted-ly

ly prudent, who in one of his Comedies brings in *Pericles* the *Athenian* sent back from Hell, and prophesying that a Bear was not to be cherish'd in the City. Admonishing, that the active Wits of noble and stirring youth ought to be curb'd: but being ted with over-much savour and profuse indulgence, let them not be hinder'd from gaining the Supreme Power. For it is a vain and unprofitable thing to resist that force which is foster'd by thy self.

8. Wonderfully *Thales*; who being asked whether the deeds of men escap'd the knowledg of the Gods; *Not their premeditated acts*, said he. Intimating, that we ought not only to preserve our hands clean, but our minds pure, if we believe our thoughts to be known to the Gods.

No less prudent is that which follows: The Father of an only Child consulted *Themistocles*, whether he should marry her to a poor learned Man, or a rich Man of no esteem? To whom, *I had rather choose a man, said he, wanting Money, than Money wanting a Man.* By which saying he admonish'd a fool to choose a Son-in-Law, before the Wealth of a Son-in-Law.

Much to be applauded was that Epistle of *Philip*, wherein he chides *Alexander*, endeavouring to ingratiate himself with large gifts into the hearts of some of the *Macedonians*: *What reason, Son, persuaded thee to this vain hope, That thou shouldst think those persons will be faithful to thee, whose kindness thou art forced to purchase with Money? Love only breeds love.* Yet was *Philip* rather a Purchaser, than a Victor of Greece.

But *Aristotle*, when he sent his Disciple *Callisthenes* to *Alexander*, admonish'd him either to say nothing to the King, or else to talk pleasantly. But he for reproving him, because he prided himself to hear the

Mace-

Macedons salute him after the manner of the *Persian* flattery, and for that he sought to reclaim him against his will, to the ancient Customs of his Forefathers, being commanded to be put to death, too late repented his neglect of the wholesome counsel that had bin given him.

Thus *Aristotle* taught, that it became not him to speak either way of himself: For to praise himself was a vanity; to speak ill of himself, a folly. A most wholesome Precept was it of his likewise, That we should consider Pleasures that were passing off. Which by so representing he diminish'd; for to be exposed them fainting and full of repentance, which render'd them the less desirable.

9. No less prudence was it in *Anaxagoras*, who being ask'd whom he thought the happiest person: None of those, said he, whom thou imagin'st happy; but thou shalt finde him among the number of those whom thou accomptest unfortunate. Not the person that abounds in Riches, but the maner of a small Farm, or the faithful and persevering observer of unambitious Maxims; more happy in retirement than in outward shew.

10. Wise was the saying of *Demas* also. For the *Athenians* denying to attribute divine Honours to *Alexander*; Take heed, said he, lest while you are so careful to keep Heaven, you loose the Earth.

11. How subtilly did *Anacharsis* compare the Laws to Spiders Webs? For as they detain'd the weaker Animals, and let go the stronger; so the other bound the poor and needy, and let go the rich and potent.

12. Nothing more prudent than that act of *Agessilaus*: For having discovered a Conspiracy against the *Lacedaemonians* by night, he presently abrogated the Laws

Laws of *Lycurgus*, that forbid the punishment of those that were not condemn'd. But having apprehended and put to death the Offenders, he presently restor'd them again : providing both ways, that wholesome punishment should not be thought unjust, nor be prevented by Law. Therefore that they might be always, it was necessary, that for some time they should not be.

13. But I cannot tell whether the Counsel of *Hanno* were not more eminently prudent. For when *Mago* related the event of the Battle of *Cannæ* to the Senate of *Carthage*, and produced three Bushels of Gold Rings in testimony of the success, he demanded whether any of their Allies had revolted from the *Romans* after so great a defeat? When he heard that none were fallen off to *Hannibal*, he presently advis'd, that Embassadors should be sent to *Rome* to treat of Peace. which Counsel had it bin follow'd, neither had *Carthage* bin overcome in the Second, nor ruin'd in the Third *Punic* War.

14. Neither did the *Samnites* pay less severely for the same Errour, when they neglected the wholesome Counsel of *Hircinius Pontius* ; who excelling the rest in Authority and Prudence, being consulted by the Army, and the Commander thereof his own Son, What they should do with the *Roman* Souldiers taken at the *Caudine Forks*, answer'd, *That they should be sent home untouch'd*. The next day being asked the same question, he made answer, *That they should be all destroy'd* : Either that they might merit the good Will of an Enemy by an extraordinary Benefit, or impair his force by a considerable loss. But the improvident rashness of the Victors, despising both counsels of profit and advantage, by putting them under

under the Yoak, incens'd them to their ruine.

To many and great Examples of Prudence, I will adde one small one: The *Cretans* when they would most vehemently curse those they hate, wish they may take pleasure in an ill Custome; and in the Modesty of their Wish, finde a most efficacious event of their revenge: For to desire any thing in vain, and to persevere in that earnest desire, is a pleasure next to ruine.

CHAP. III.

Of things craftily spoken or done.

Among the ROMANS.

1. *The President of Diana's Temple.*
2. *L. Junius Brutus.*
3. *P. Scipio Africanus the Elder.*
4. *Q. Fabius Labeo.*
5. *Antonius the Orator.*
6. *Q. Sertorius.*
7. *Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus.*
8. *M. Volatius Saturninus Edil.*
9. *Sentius Saturninus.*
10. *A certain Father.*

FORRAIGNERS.

1. *Alexander the Great and an Ass-driver.*
2. *King Darius's Groom.*
3. *Eias of Priene.*
4. *Anaximenes.*
5. *Demosthenes the Orator.*
6. *A certain Athenian.*
7. *Annibal the son of Gisco the Carthaginian.*
8. *Annibal the son of Amilcar.*
9. *The Tusculans.*
10. *Tullius Attius Captain of the Wolsci.*

THere is another sort of saying and doing, declining from Wisdome to the name of Cunning: which would

would not meet with the credit of what it propounded, did it not assume the force of Craft; and seeks for applause rather in a hidden path, than in an open way.

1. In the reign of *Servius Tullius*, a certain Landlord in the *Sabine* Territories had a Cow of an extraordinary bigness and beauty. Which certain Authors of the Oracles said was sent into the world by the Immortal Gods, to the end that whoever offer'd it to *Diana of Aventinum*, his Countrey should obtain the Empire over the whole World. The Master rejoycing to hear such tydings, drave the beast with all speed, and presented it before the Altar of *Diana in Aventinum*, desirous to give the Honour of Supreme Empire to the *Sabines*. Of which the President of the Temple having notice, put it into the Owner's head, that before he slew the Sacrifice, he should wash himself in the water of the next River: who for that reason hastening to *Tybur*, while he was gone, the chief Priest offer'd the beast, and by a pious theft of the Sacrifice, render'd our City the Mistress of so many Cities and Nations.

2. For which sharpness of Wit, *Junius Brutus* is in the first place to be commend'd. For when he found all the Promising Nobility to be cut off by King *Tarquinius* his Uncle, and that his Brother was by him put to death, because of the forwardness of his Wit, counterfeited himself to be a Fool; and by that fallacy conceal'd his own vast parts. Going also to the Oracle of *Delphos* with the Sons of *Tarquin*, whom their Father sent thither with rich Presents and Sacrifices in honour of *Pythian Apollo*, he carri'd Gold as a Present to the Deity, hid in a hollow stick; fearing that it was not safe to worship the Celestial Deity with

an

an open Liberality. After that, the Young-men, having performed their Fathers commands, consulted *Apollo*, which among them all should be the person that should reign in *Rome*. The God made answer, *That he should obtain the Sovereignty, that gave his Mother the first kiss*. Then *Brutus* threw himself to down, as if he had fallen by chance, and kiss'd the Earth, the common Mother of all things. Which crafty Kiss given to the Earth, gave Liberty to our City, and the first place in our Annals to *Brutus*.

3. *Scipio* also the Elder embrac'd the aid of Craft. For as he was to sayl from *Sicily* into *Africa*, finding it necessary to compleat a Body of Three Hundred Horse out of the stoutest of the *Roman* Foot, though he had not time to exercise them, what the strictness of Time denied him, he attained by the Sagacity of his Counsel. For of all the young Gentlemen, which were the noblest and the richest, that he carried with him out of *Sicily* unarm'd, he choose out Three Hundred, whom he order'd to furnish themselves with gay Weapons and select Horses, as if he intended to carry them along with him to the storming of *Carthage*. Who obeying his command, as well in reference to the speed, as in respect of a far distant and dangerous War, *Scipio* told them, he would release them from the Expedition, upon condition they would deliver up their Weapons and Horses to his Souldiers. The Young-men effeminate and fearful, greedily accepted the Condition, and willingly deliver'd up their preparations to our Souldiers. Whereby the Subtlety of the Captain provided, that what was out of hand commanded, though severe at first, should be lookt upon as a greater benefit, the fear of service being remitted.

4. That

4. That which follows is also to be related. *Q. Fabius Labeo* being by the Senate appointed an Arbitrator to settle the Bounds between the *Nolans* and the *Neapolitans*, when they came to the business, admonish'd both apart, that laying aside all Covetousness, they should rather abate, than pretend to too much. Which when both sides had consented to, mov'd thereto by the authority of the person, there was some ground left. Thereupon the Bounds being set as they had agreed to, that which was left he adjudged to the People of *Rome*. But though neither the *Nolans* nor *Neapolitans* could in Justice complain, Sentence being given by their own consent; yet by a new kind of mental reservation, it brought a new Tribute to our City. The same person, being according to Articles to have half the Navy of King *Antiochus*, whom he had overthrown in Battle, cut all the Ships in two, and so depriv'd him of his whole Navy.

5. Now are we to excuse *Marcus Antonius*, who said, That he never publish'd any Oration, to the end that if any Judgment of his formerly given should chance to hinder him that he should next defend, he might aver that he never spoke it. Which seem'd a reasonable excuse for a fact hardly allowable. For he was still ready not only to make use of his Eloquence, but to injure his Modesty to save his Client.

6. But *Sertorius*, upon whom Nature had with an equal indulgence bestow'd both strength of Body, and sagacity in Counsel, being compell'd to be Captain of the *Lusitanians* by the proscription of *Sylla*, when he could by no means perswade them but that they would fight with the whole Army of the *Romans*, by his crafty Counsel brought them to do as he intended.

For

For he placed in the sight of all the *Lusitanians* two Horses, one a stout beast, the other weak and infirm. After that he caus'd the Tail of the strong Horse to be pull'd hair by hair from him, by a weak old man; and the Tail of the weak Horse to be torn all at once from him, by a young fellow of an egregious strength. His commands were obey'd. But while the Young-man toy'd himself in vain, the decrepit old-man did his business. Then to let the Barbarous Assembly understand the meaning of his project, he added, *That the Roman Army was like the tail of the Horse, which might be easily overcome in parts; but that whoever assail'd the body entire, should sooner loose than gain the Victory.* Thus the Barbarous rough-hewn Nation, rushing on to their own destruction, saw with their Eyes the advantages which their Ears had refus'd.

7. *Fabius Maximus*, whose business it was to overcome by abstaining from fight, having in his Camp a *Nolan* Footman of prodigious strength, yet suspected for his Fidelity, and a *Lucan* Horseman of equal stoutness, both captivated with the same Curtezan; to the end he might not loose the advantage of two such Souldiers, dissembled his suspicion to the one, and as to the other he somewhat surpass'd the bounds of true Discipline. For by praising the one in the publick Tribunal, and loading him with all manner of commendations, he made him constant to the *Romans*, and an enemy to the *Corthaginians*; and the other he suffer'd to redeem his Mistress privately, that he might become an exact Spy for our side.

8. I will come now to those that saved themselves by Craft. *M. Volusius* a banish'd Ædile of the People, disguising himself in the habit of a Priest of *Isis*, while he begg'd as he travelled upon the Road, kept himself from being known who he was. And in this disguise he came to the Camp of *M. Brutus*. What more miserable

nable than Necessity, which constrain'd a Magistrate of the People of *Rome*, laying aside his Robes of Honour, under the disguise of a forraign Religion, to beg from Town to Town? But all these were either too desirous of Life, or too covetous of the Death of others, who could either endure such things themselves, or compell'd others to undergo such difficulties.

9. Something more noble was that Shift, at a dead lift, of *Sentius Saturninus Vetulus*, who hearing his name among those that were proscrib'd by the Triumvirs, presently laid hold upon the Ensigns of Authority born before the Prætor, and pretending himself a publick *Lictor*, or Serjeant, he did it with that confidence, that in the midst of all his enemies, he hid himself from their sight in the midst of day light. After that coming to *Puteoli*, and pretending himself in publick employment, he so carried himself, that he commanded a Vessel to carry him without controul into *Sicily*, the safe refuge of the proscrib'd Party at that time.

10. One more slight Example, and then to Forraigners. A certain person, extraordinarily indulgent to his Son, being desirous to retrieve him from a dangerous and unlawful Amour, intermix'd his paternal Indulgence with the craft of wholesome Counsel. For he desir'd him before he went to his Mistress, to make use of that sort of Venery which was common and permitted. Whereupon the Youngman, listening to his Fathers entreaties, finding himself satiated by a lawful act, ceas'd to prosecute any farther his unlawful heat of concupiscence.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. *Alexander* King of the *Macedonians*, admonish'd by the Oracle that he should put to death whoever
Y he

he met first coming out of the Gate, met a Driver of Asses, whom he commanded to be presently carried to execution. The Ass-driver thereupon besought him, wherefore he went about to put an innocent person to death, that had done him no offence? To whom when the King repeated the command of the Oracle; *If it be so, O King, said the Ass-driver, the Oracle assign'd another to dye, and not me: For the Ass that I drove met thee before I did.* Alexander pleas'd with the crafty Repartie of the poor fellow, and willing to be reclaimed from his errour, took an occasion to satisfie Religion with the death of the meaner Animal. Here was an extraordinary mildness joyned with subtilty; but a more extraordinary subtilty in the other Kings Groom, is this which follows.

2. For the sordid dominion of the *Magi* being overthrown, *Darius* the King, joyning with others of the same Dignity, made a noble contract with them, that they should be on Horseback by Sun-rising to ride to such a place, and that he should enjoy the Kingdome whose Horse first neigh'd. But while the Competitors for so great an honour only waited upon Fortune, *Darius* by the pure invention of *Ebar* the Master of his Horse, attain'd his wish: For he coming to the place, put his hand which he had but a little before thrust into the privy parts of a Mare, to the Nostils of his Masters Horse; who provoked by the scent, immediately neighed. Which the rest of the Competitors no sooner heard, but immediately throwing themselves from their horses, and prostrating themselves upon the ground (as is the manner of the *Persians*) they saluted *Darius* King. How vast an Empire was thus obtain'd by so slight a piece of Cunning!

3. *Bias*, whose wisdom has bin more durable among men, than his Countrey of *Priene*, (for the one still remains, but the footsteps of the other are hardy

now

now to be seen) was wont to say, *That men ought so to converse in point of Friendship, as to remember, that it might change into the severest Animosity.* Which Precept at first sight seems to be a piece of craft, and not congruous to reality, which is the delight of familiarity: But look upon it with a more intent consideration, and it will be found very profitable.

4. The safety of the City of *Lampſacum* consisted by one act of Subtlety: For when *Alexander* threatened nothing but the destruction of it, and saw his Master *Anaximenes* coming towards him without the Walls; for fear his prayers should assuage his anger, he swore not to grant whatever he petition'd for. Then said *Anaximenes*, *My Petition is, that thou wouldst destroy Lampſacum.* This quick reply saved a City, famous for its Antiquity, from the ruine to which it was destin'd.

5. The Cunning of *Demosthenes* was also a notable help to a young Maid, who had received Money to keep from two Guests, upon that condition, that she should restore the Money when they came both together. After some time, one of them in a Mourning Habit, as if his Friend had bin dead, comes and receives the whole Money: Which when she had paid, the other comes and demands his share. The poor Maid was at a loss, as well for the Money, as for Money to defend the Suit; and thought of nothing but hanging herself. But opportunely *Demosthenes* undertaking her Cause, *The woman*, said he, *is ready to pay the Money deposited in her custody; but unless you can bring the other person along with you, 'tis not for her to do it by the contract. For it was agreed between ye, that the Money should not be paid, till both came together.*

6. Nor was this imprudently acted. A certain *A-*

thenian, hated by all the people, being to plead for his Life before them, upon a suddain began to demand the greatest employment of the Magistracy among them. Not that he thought to obtain his desire; but that the People might have wherewithal to blunt the edge of their first Anger, which is usually the sharpest. Nor did his Policy deceive him: for when the People had spent their malice in hissing him out the Assembly, and had disgrac'd him by laying him aside, when he came to plead for his Life, their malice turn'd into compassion, as if they had done enough against him before. For if he had ventur'd his life among them while they were thirsting after Revenge, he had found their Ears stopp'd against all Mercy.

7. Like to this was the following piece of Cunning. The Elder *Hannibal* being overthrown by *Duilius* in a Sea-fight, and fearing the loss of his Head for the loss of his Fleet, by an admirable act of Subtily mitigated his crime: For before the news of his Overthrow got home, he sends one of his Friends to *Carthage* in a gentile Habit. Who coming into the Senate-House; *Hannibal*, said he, *has sent me to advise with you, Whether, if he meet the Roman Admiral and finde him too numerous, he shall fight or no?* When the whole Senate were unanimously for fighting; *Then*, said he, *he has fought, and is overcome.* And then it was too late to condemn the fact, which they themselves had approv'd.

8. The other *Hannibal* finding *Fabius Maximus's* delay so prejudicial to his Victories, to render him suspected of spinning out the War, while he wasted all other parts of *Italy* with Fire and Sword, he only spar'd his Farm. And the crafty act of kindness had taken effect, had not the piety of *Fabius* and the wily tricks of *Hannibal* bin too well known to the City of *Rome*.

9. The

9. The *Tusculans* also sav'd themselves by the acuteness of their Councils. For when by their frequent Rebellions they merited the total destruction of their City, and that *Furius Camillus* was sent for the same purpose with a very powerful Army, they all came forth to meet him in their Gowns, bringing him provisions, and offering him all other acts of Peace and Friendship, while their Shops were open as at other times. By which Constancy of theirs, they not only obtain'd our Friendship, but became also incorporated with our City.

10. But wicked was the counsel of *Tullius*, Captain of the *Volsci*; who being eager to make War upon the *Romans*; finding after the loss of several Battles, that his own People began to encline to Peace; by a subtle way of reasoning, made 'em do what he pleased. For it happening that a great multitude of the *Volsci* went to *Rome* to behold the Publick Shews, he told the Consuls, he was afraid they would contrive some mischief, being so numerous; advis'd them to be careful, and presently left the City himself. This the Consuls related to the Senate, who though they knew no reason for it, yet upon *Tullius's* words, voted the *Volsci* to depart the City. By which contempt the *Volsci* incens'd, were easily induced to Rebellion. Thus with a Lye, mask'd in Kindness, did a cunning Captain deceive two Nations: The *Romans* being moved to abuse the Innocent, and the deceived *Volsci* to revenge the injury.

CHAP. IV.

Of Stratagems.

ROMANS.

1. Tullus Hostilius King.
2. Sext. Tarquinius.
3. The besieged in the Capitol.
4. M. Livius and C. Claudius, Consuls.

5. Q. Metellus surnamed the Macedonian.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. Agathocles King of Syracuse.
2. Hannibal.

But this part of Subtilty is to be applauded, as being free from all reproof: the acts whereof because we have no word to express, we are forced to borrow the word *Stratagem* from the Greek.

1. *Fidene*, a City that kept the growing infancy of our City waking, and nourishing her Vertue with neighbouring Trophies and Triumphs, taught her to aspire farther, was assail'd by *Tullus Hostilius* with all his forces At that time *Metius Suffetius*, in the field, when the Battles were ready to joyn, discover'd the falsity of his heart, which he had a long time kept conceal'd. For leaving the wing of the *Roman* Army, he drew off to a Hill, where he resolv'd to be a Spectator rather than an Assilant; intending either to triumph over the vanquish'd, or to fall upon the weary Victors. No question but it discourag'd our Souldiers to see themselves forsaken by their Allies, at the very time when they were going to fight their Enemies. To prevent which, *Tullus* riding swiftly about the Battalions, cryed out, *That Metius had drawn off by his command,*

command, and that he was to fall upon the back of the Fidenates when he gave the signe. And by that cunning of an expert General, he chang'd their Fear into Confidence, and fill'd their breasts with Cheartfulness instead of Consternation.

2. And that I may not presently leave our Kings; *Sextus Tarquinius*, the Son of *Tarquinius*, fretting to see that the *Gabii* could not be taken by his Father's Army, found out a trick more powerful than Weapons themselves, whereby he over-reach'd the Town, and joyn'd it to the *Roman* Empire. For he betook himself to the *Gabii*, counterfeiting himself to be fled from his Fathers stripes and severity. After that, procuring the good will of every one by his kind and winning behaviour, when he had won that, he sent his Servant to his Father, to tell him how he had every thing in his hands, and to desire him to know what he should do. The old mans Cratt was answerable to the youngs mans subtilty. For *Tarquin* pleased with the news, yet not confiding in the Messenger, return'd no answer, but carrying him into the Garden, strook of the heads of the highest and biggest Poppies with his Cane. The young man understanding his silence, and what he had done, concluded there was another meaning in the thing: which was, that he should either banish or put to death all the Chief Heads of the *Gabii*. Whereby he deliver'd up the City empty of defenders, and yet the peoples hands were not tyed.

3. Prudently also and prosperously was it provided by our Ancestors, when our City being taken, the Capitol was besieg'd by the *Gauls*, who despair'd of taking it any other way than by famishing the besieg'd. For by how cunning an act of deliberation did they deprive the Victors of their only motive to that obstinacy, by casting Loaves of Bread out of the Capitol

into several parts of the Belieger Line ! At which sight they were so amaz'd , and thought us to be so well stor'd, that they were constrain'd to raise their Siege. Certainly *Jupiter* himself took compassion of the *Roman* Courage, which then borrow'd assistance from cratt ; seeing them in the height of want, to wattle the support of Life: And therefore he prosper'd the cunning Stratagem with a prosperous event.

4. The same *Jupiter* afterwards became propitious to the crafty Councils of our Captains. For when *Hannibal* harass'd one side of *Italy*, and *Asdrubal* had invaded the other ; that the conjoyn'd forces of two Brothers might not too heavily and sorely oppress the already-too-weak condition of our affairs , here *Claudius Nero* supply'd his vigorous Counsel, there *Livius Salinator* providently provided. For *Nero* curbing *Hannibal* in the Province of the *Lucans*, making a shew of still attending the Enemy (for so the reason of War requir'd) with long and speedy marches hastens to the assistance of his Colleague. *Salinator* being then in *Umbria* by the River *Metaurus*, and resolv'd to fight the next day, with an extraordinary Policy received *Nero* by night. For he order'd the Tribunes to be receiv'd by the Tribunes, the Centurions by the Centurions, the Horsemen by the Horsemen, the Foot by the Footmen, and so without any tumult, he ingrafted two Armies into one, in the same ground that was hardly able to contain that which he had before. Whereby it hapned that *Asdrubal* knew not that he fought with two Consuls, before he was by both overthrown. And thus was the *Punic* faith, so infamous over all the world, deluded at its' own Weapon : while the *Roman* Prudence deliver'd up *Hannibal* to the Wiles of *Nero*, *Asdrubal* to the Deceit of *Salinator*.

5. Memorable also was the Counsel of *Q. Metellus*, who together with the Proconsul warring against the *Celtiberians*

Celtiberians in *Spain*, and finding himself too weak to force *Contrebia* the Metropolis of that Countrey, revolving many thoughts in his minde, at length he found a way to bring his business to perfection. He made tedious marches, sometimes he fell upon this Province, sometimes upon another; sometimes he assail'd these Passages of the Mountains, and sometimes others: and all this while, as well his own Officers, as the Enemy, were amaz'd to see him whirl from one place to another in that manner. For which reason being ask'd by one of his intimate friends, why he made such a loose and scatter'd kind of War? *Forbear to enquire*, said he: *for if I thought my shirt knew the meaning of this designe of mine, I would cause it to be burnt.* How far did this dissimulation extend? Or what was the issue of it? But when he had involv'd both his own Army and the Enemy in the same error, faining to march another way, he suddenly turn'd back upon *Contrebia*, and so surpriz'd it unawares. So that if he had not suffer'd his thoughts to search after Wiles and Stratagems, he might have lain before *Contrebia* all the days of his life.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. *Agathocles*, King of the *Syracusans*, was boldly cunning: For when the *Carthaginians* had possess'd the greatest part of his City, he transported his Army into *Africa*, to dispel fear by fear, and force by force; and not without success. For the *Carthaginians* affrighted at his suddain coming, willingly redeem'd their own security by the safety of the enemy; So that it was agreed, that at the same time *Africa* should be freed from the *Sicilians*, and *Sicily* from the *Carthaginians*. For had he persever'd to preserve the Walls of *Syracuse*, they had been still vex'd with the miseries

ries of War, while *Carthage* had enjoyed the benefits of Peace. But now threatening her with the same ruine, while he rather invades the wealth and fortunes of others, than defends his own; the more justly he deserted his Kingdom, the more safely he receiv'd it again.

2. What did *Hannibal* at the Battle of *Cannæ*? Had he not ensnar'd the *Roman* Army in many intanglements of subtle Stratagem, before he went to fight? In the first place he took care to get the Sun and Wind, and so to secure himself from the flying of the Dust. Then in the very time of fight, he caus'd great part of his Army to counterfeit a flight; which when the *Roman* Legion follow'd, as it was divided from the rest of the Army, he provided that they should be cut to pieces by the Ambush which he had laid to entrap them. Then he order'd four hundred Horse to go to the Consul like Revolters; who being commanded to lay aside their Weapons, and to retire into the Rear of the Army, in the heat of the Fight, drawing their Swords, which they privately conceal'd between their Vests and Armour, cut the Hams of the engaged *Romans*. Thus was the *Punic* Fortitude furnish'd with Deceit, Ambushment, and Fallacy. Which excuses our Courage for being so circumvented: Since we were rather deceiv'd, than overcome.

CHAP. V.

Of Repulses.

1. *Ælius Tubero.*
2. *Scipio Natica.*
3. *Æmilius Paulus.*
4. *Metellus the Macedonian.*
5. *Cornelius Sylla.*
6. *Cato of Utica.*

THE Condition of the Field of *Mars* well represented, may also instruct the ambitious more strenuously to sustain the less prosperous events of the Elections. While the repulses of eminent and famous men being set before their eyes, they may stand for honour not with less hope than judicious ones of mind; and may remember, that it is no crime for something to be deny'd by all to one man, when sometimes single persons have thought it lawful to resist the wills of all. Knowing that what cannot be obtained by Favour, must be sought by Patience.

1. *Q. Ælius Tubero* being desired to spread the Dining-Chamber by *Fabius Maximus*, who was to feast the people in the name of *P. Africanus* his Uncle, spread the *Punic* Beds with the Skins of Kids, and instead of Silver Dishes, brought forth *Samian*. By which unseemliness he so offended all the company, that when he stood for *Prætor*, depending upon *L. Paulus* his Grandfather, and *P. Africanus* his Uncle, he was forc'd to suffer the shame of a repulse. For though privately they approved thriftiness, yet publicly they were very curious to be splendid. And therefore the City not believing the Guests of one Banquet, but that all her Inhabitants had layn upon
Goat-

Goat-skins, reveng'd the discredit of the Banquet, by the shame of not giving him their voices.

2. *Pub. Scipio Nasica*, the glory of the Gown, who being Consul pronounced War against *Jugurth*, whose holy hands receiv'd the *Idean* Maëron, leaving *Phrygia* to grace our Altars and our Habitations; who by the strength of his authority suppress'd many fatal Seditions; who was Prince of the Senate for many years: when he was a young man, and stood to be the *Ædil* in the Running-chair, took a certain person by the hand, whom he grasp'd with his own, and finding his friends hand to be hard'n'd with labour, he asked him, whether he us'd to walk upon his hands. Which question being heard by the standers by, came to be in the mouths of all the People, and occasion'd *Scipio* to be repuls'd. For all the People thinking he had upbraided them with the poverty of the Rustick Tribe, discharg'd their anger upon his contumelious Jeast. Thus our City, by recalling the Wits of the Noble Youth from Insolence, made many and profitable Citizens; and added the due weight to honour, not suffering them to be sought for by those that were secure of them beforehand.

3. There was no such Errour to be found in *Æmilins Paulus*; and yet sometimes he stood for the Consulship in vain. However, the same person, when he had wearied the field with his repulses, being afterwards made twice Consul and Censor, arriv'd to the highest degree of Honour. Whose Vertue injuries did not break, but sharpen; for being incens'd at the dishonour, he carried to the field a more eager desire of the Supreme Dignity, that he might overcome the People by his perseverance, since he could not stir them by the splendour of his Nobility, and the endowments of his Minde.

4. Only a few, and those disconsolate Friends, accompanied

companied *Quint. Cecilius* home, aham'd and full of griet, whom afterwards the whole Senate and People follow'd brisk and jovial to the Capitol, having triumph'd over the false *Philip*. The greatest part also of the *Achean War*, to which *Mummius* lent his helping hand, was compleated by this person. Could the people then deny the Consulship to him, to whom they owed, or were likely to owe two most famous Provinces? And yet that act made him a better Citizen; for he thought he was to carry himself the more industriously in that Consulship which he found so hard to be obtain'd.

5. Who more powerful, who more opulent than *L. Sylla*? He dispos'd of Empires and Kingdomes; he abrogated old Laws, and made new; and yet in that field of which he was afterwards Master, he lost the Prætorship which he stood for.

6. But to relate the greatest crime of the Elections, *M. Portius Cato*, who was more likely to grace the Prætorship with the gravity of his manners, than to receive addition of splendour from it, could not once obtain it at the peoples hands. Voices of Madmen, how well were they paid for the errour they committed! For the honour which they denied to *Cato*, they were forced to give to *Vatinus*. And therefore to speak the truth, the Prætorship was not then denied to *Cato*, but *Cato* was denied to the Prætorship.

C H A P. VI.

Of Necessity.

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| 1. <i>The People of Rome after the overthrow at Cannæ.</i> | 6. <i>The Asiaticks in the Parthian War.</i> |
| 2. <i>The Casilines in their Siege.</i> | FORRAIGNERS. |
| 3. <i>The Prænestines besieged.</i> | 1. <i>The Cretans besieged by Q. Metellus.</i> |
| 4. <i>The People of Rome in the Wars of Marius.</i> | 2. <i>The Numantines besieged by P. Scipio.</i> |
| 5. <i>C. Cæsar at Munda.</i> | 3. <i>The Calaguritans.</i> |

Most bitter are the Laws of abominable Necessity, and most severe her Commands, which have compell'd not only our City, but also forraign Nations to suffer many things grievous, not only to the understanding, but also to the hearing.

1. For in the Second *Punic War*, the Youth of Rome being exhausted, the Senate, at the motion of *Titus Gracchus* Consul elect, order'd, that Servants might be publickly bought, to serve against the Enemy. Which being reported by the Tribunes to the people, three persons were chosen out to buy four and twenty thousand Servants; who swearing them to be true, faithful and courageous, while the *Carthaginians* continued in Italy, sent them away to the Camp. Out of *Apulia* also and the Territories of *Fidicule* two hundred and seventy Horsemen were bought to supply the Horse. How great is the violence of bitter Chance! That City which till that time

time loath'd to have Souldiers whose heads were never tax'd, that very City is now constrain'd to hale the bodies of Slaves from their servile dens, and Freemen from the Cottages of Shepherds, to be the chief strength of their Army. Generous spirits therefore must sometimes give way to convenience, and submit to the power of Fortune, where he that chooses not the safest Counsel, yields to him that follows the most specious Advice. But the slaughter of *Cannæ* so amaz'd our City, that by the industry of *Marcus Junius*, then ordering the affairs of the Commonwealth as Dictator, the spoils of the Enemies fix'd in the Temples consecrated to the Gods, were taken down for the service of the Wars, and the youth of the Nobility were forced to take Arms; and six Thousand condemn'd persons were also list'd out of necessity. Which things consider'd in themselves, seem to look somewhat oddly; but weigh'd in the balance of necessity, they appear to be helps fit for the severity of the times. By reason of the same Overthrow, the Senate wrote back in answer to *Oracilius* and *Cornelius Mammula*, the one Proprætor of *Sicily*, the other of *Sardignia*, who both complain'd that they had neither Money nor Provisions for their Armies, That they had not Money in the Treasury for distant expences, and therefore bid them take the best courtes they could to provide for themselves. Whereby the Senate put the Government quite out of their own hands, and abandon'd *Sicily* and *Sardignia*, two the kindest Nurseries of our City, the strength and support of their Wars, subdu'd with so much blood and sweat, in a few words, to the severe command of Necessity.

2. The *Casilinates* wanting Victuals, and being closely besieg'd by *Hannibal*, took all the Leathern Thongs from their necessary uses, and the Leather Covers

Covers from their Targets, and boyling them in water, were forc'd to feed upon them. Consider but the bitterness of the Calamity, and what could be more miserable? If you consider their Constancy, what greater mark of Fidelity? Who rather than they would desert the *Romans*, maintain'd themselves with such a sort of Diet, when such fat Fields, and such a fertile Soyl, joyn'd so close to their Walls.

3. When that Town was so besieg'd, and so faithfully held out, it hapned that one among Three Hundred *Prænestines* having taken a Mouse, would rather sell it for Two Hundred *Denaries*, than eat it himself, notwithstanding the famishing condition he was in. But Providence allotted both to the Buyer and the Seller, the end which they both deserv'd. For the covetous person being starv'd to death, enjoy'd not the spoils of his Avarice; but he that was at so great an expence for his own preservation, though he bought it dear, yet since it was out of Necessity, liv'd.

4. In the Consulship of *C. Marius* and *Cn. Carbo*, who contended in a Civil War with *Sylla*, and at what time the Commonwealth did not seek for Victory, but that the Publick was to be the Victors reward; by a Decree of the Senate, the Gold and Silver Ornaments of the Temples were melted down, to pay the Souldiers. For it was a worthy contention, whether the one should be permitted to satiate his Cruelty with the banishment of the Citizens, or whether the Immortal Gods should be rob'd. But it was not the will of the Conscript Fathers, but thine, Dire Necessity, that occasion'd that order to be made.

5. When the divine *Julius's* Army besieged *Munda*, and that they wanted matter to raise their Battery, they made up the height, which they wanted, with the Bodies of dead Men. And because they wanted Stakes, they drave in their Piles, and French-

Darts

Darts to strengthen 'em; Necessity teaching them a new way of Fortification.

6. And that I may adde the heavenly mention of the Son, to the remembrance of the celestial Father; when *Phraates* King of the *Parthians* threatned to break in upon our Provinces, and that the adjoining Regions were terrified at the news of their coming, there was such a Famine in the Region of *Bosphorus*, that the Souldiers exchange'd so many Slaves for a single Vessel of Oyle, and so many Slaves for a Bushel of Wheat. But the care of *Augustus*, under whose Protection the world then was, soon provided a Remedy for that Calamity.

F O R R A I G N E R S.

1. The *Cretans* had no such help: who being besieged by *Metellus*, and reduced to the utmost Extremity, rather tormented than quench'd their thirst with their own and the Urine of their Cattle. For fearing to be overcome, they suffer'd that, which the Victors would not have forced them to have endure'd.

2. The *Numantines* being besieged by *Scipio*, when they had consum'd all other things, at length were constrain'd to feed upon Mans-flesh. So that when their City was taken, there were many found with the joynts and members of the slain in their bosomes. But Necessity has no excuse for this; for there was no necessity for them to live, to whom it was so lawful to dye.

3. But the horrid impiety of the *Calagurritans* exceeded the obstinacy of the former: who to the end they might appear the more faithful to the ashes of the slain *Sertorius*, being besieg'd by *Pompey*, having devoured all other creatures in their City, fell to feast

upon their Wives and Children. And to the end the Armed Youth might nourish their Bowels with their own bowels the longer, they were not afraid to salt up the unfortunate remainders of the dead bodies. Think you it would be an exhortation prevalent enough in the field, to exhort such Souldiers to fight for the safety of their Wives and Children? It had bin more proper for so great a Captain to have punished such an Enemy, than to seek for Victory. For Revenge would have purchased them more Liberty, than Victory could win them Honour; in comparison of whom Serpents and wild beasts were gentle and merciful creatures. For those dear pledges of Life, dearer to them than their lives themselves, were the Dinners and Suppers of the *Catagurritans*.

CHAP. VII.

Of Wills cancell'd.

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| 1. <i>A Father that disinherited his Son.</i> | 4. <i>Sulpitia the mother of the Trachali.</i> |
| 2. <i>M. Anneius Caracollanus.</i> | 5. <i>Terentius.</i> |
| 3. <i>C. Tettius.</i> | 6. <i>Nevianus.</i> |
| | 7. <i>Juventius.</i> |

Let us now go to that sort of business, which among all the actions of Men, is the last thing done, and their chiefest care: And let us consider, what Wills have bin cancell'd after they were legally made; or might have bin cancell'd when they stood firm, and transferr'd the honour of Inheritance to others than those that expected it.

1. Which

1. Which that I may do according to the order which I have propos'd, I will begin with the Father of a certain Souldier, who hearing a false report of the death of his Son from the Camp, made other Heirs in his Will, and died. The Youngman returning home after the war Was ended, found the dores shut against him, by the errour of his Father, and the impudence of his Friends. For how could they shew themselves more shameless than they did? The Souldier had spent the flower of his youth in his Countries Service, had undergone most dreadful Labours and Dangers, shewed the Wounds which he had received in Battle, and only begg'd that lazy Drones, a very burthen to the very City it self, might not possess his Ancestors Inheritance. Therefore laying aside his Armes, he was forced to commence a Gown-war in the Court of Justice. A hard case, while he is forc'd to contend for his Fathers estate with wicked Heirs before the *Centumviri*; though they could not choose but give their Opinions for him, while the Sentence of the Court gave him the day.

2. *Marcus Annius* the Son of *M. Caracollanus*, a famous Roman Knight, adopted by *Sufenas* his Uncle, cancell'd his Fathers Will, who had lett him out of it, by the Sentence of the *Centumviri*, before whom he tryed the Cause; though *Tullianus*, the familiar Friend of *Pompey the Great*, who was a witness to it, were made Heir. Therefore he had more to do with the power of a person potent in Court, than with the ashes of his Father. Yet though both did what they could to hinder him, he obtain'd his fathers Goods. For *L. Sextilius*, and *P. Popilius*, whom *M. Annius*, as being his nearest Relations, had made Heirs of the same part which was given to *Tullianus*, durst not contend by their Oraks with the young man. Though they might have bin sent for at that time by the

highest Authorities then in being, to have defended the Will. And it was some pretence for the Heirs, that *M. Annecius* was translated into the Family of *Surfenas*. But the strong tye of procreation overcame both the Fathers Will, and the Authority of so great a Personage.

3. *C. Tettius*, an Infant born of *Petronia* the Wife of *Tettius* as long as he liv'd, being disinherited by his Father, was restord to his Inheritance by the Decree of the divine *Augustus*, doing like a Father of his Countrey: In regard that *Tettius* had so unjustly abrogated the paternal Name, by giving away his estate from a Son, so legally born to his own Right.

4. *Septicia* also, the Mother of the *Trachalis* of *Ariminum*, being angry with her Sons, out of spite when she was now past child-bearing married *Publicius* an old man, and left both her Children out of her Will. Who appealing to the divine *Augustus*, he disapprov'd both the Marriage, and disannul'd the Will. For he order'd that the Sons should have their Mothers estate, and commanded the Husband to restore her Dower; because she did not marry out of hopes of having Children. If Justice her self had given sentence in this case, could she have pronounc'd a juster Sentence? Thou despisest those whom thou hast begot; thou marriest past Child-bearing; thou breakest the order of Wills out of a violent humour, and dost not blush to give all thy Patrimony to a person, to whose feeble body thou hast prostituted thy old Age. And therefore, while thou thus behavest thy self, thou art cast down to Hell by the voice of heavenly Thunder.

5. Famous is the Constitution of *C. Calpurnius Piso*, Prætor of the City. For when *Terentius* complain'd before him, together with his eight Sons, whom he had bred up to be men, that one of his Sons
whom

whom he had parted with in Adoption, had disinherited him; gave him the possession of the young mans estate, and would not suffer the Heirs to go to Law. The Paternal Majesty of the man mov'd *Calpurnius* doubtless, together with the gift of Life, and the benefit of Education: but that which more moved him, was the number of his other Children that stood by, seeing seven Brothers and a Father disinherited by one Child.

6. How prudent was the Decree of *Mamercus Æmilius Lepidus* the Consul! *Genucius*, a certain Priest of *Cybele*, besought the Prætor of the City, *Cn. Orestes*, that the goods of *Nevianus* might be restor'd to him, the possession whereof he had by Will obtain'd. *Mamercus* being thereupon appeal'd to by *Surdinius*, whose Freed-man had left *Genucius* his Heir, disannuill'd the Prætors Sentence, saying, *That Genucius,, who had of his own accord suffered himself to be gets (for so are all the Priests of Cybele) was not to be reckon'd either a man or woman.* A Decree besitting *Mamercus*, besitting the Prince of the Senate; whereby he provided that the Tribunals of Magistrates should not be polluted by the obscene presence, and scandalous voice of Eunuchs.

7. *Q. Metellus* was a much more severe Prætor than *Orestes*: Who would not give *Vecilius*, the Pandar the possession of the Goods of *Juventius*, left him by Will. For that noble and grave Personage did not think the condition of a Court of Judicature and a Brothel-house to be the same. Neither would he approve the fact of that man, who had thrown away his estate upon an unclean stable; nor give the same right to one that made a publick profession of Dishonesty, as to a Citizen of a good Conversation.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Testaments confirm'd, and unlookt for Inheritances.

Of the ROMANS,

us of Rhegium.

1. Sempronius Tuditanus.

5. Q. Cæcilus.

2. Æbucia.

6. T. Marius.

3. Q. Metellus.

7. Valerius Heptachordus.

4. The Brother of Pompei-

8. T. Barrulus.

9. M. Popilius.

HAVING contented our selves with these Examples of cancell'd Wills, let us give a hint upon those that have remain'd confirm'd, when there was cause enough for them to have bin cancell'd.

1. How publickly and scandalously was *Tuditannus* not'd for a madman ! being one that threw his Money among the People, and trayl'd his Cloak after him in the *Forum*, as if it had bin the garment of a Tragedian ; so that he was the laughter of all that beheld him, besides many other pranks of the same nature which they beheld. He made his Son Heir by his Will : which *T. Longus* by the Judgment of the *Centumviri* in vain endeavour'd to have disannull'd, as being next of kin. For the *Centumviri* thought it more proper to consider what was written in the Will, than who had wrote it.

2. The conversation of *Tuditannus* was Frantick ; but *Æbucia*, who was the wife of *L. Menenius Agrippa*. made a Will that was Madnes it self. For having two Daughters of equal vertue, *Pletoria* and *Afrania*, through the inclination of her own minde, rather than

than for any offence or miscarriage, she only made *Platoria* her Heir : and to the Children of *Afrania*, out of her vast Patrimony, she left only twenty thousand pieces of Money. However *Afrania* would not contend by Oath with her Sister, rather choosing patiently to honour her Mothers Will, than to violate it in Court ; shewing her self thereby so much the more unworthy the Injury done her, by how much the more patiently she bore it.

3. *Q. Metellus* committed a womanish error, less to be admir'd. For he, though there were several eminent and famous young men, of the same name, living in our City at the same time, and that the Family of the *Claudii*, to whom he was most nearly related, were then very numerous, left *Carinates* only his Heir ; neither did any one attempt to question his Will.

4. *Pompeius* also *Reginus*, a *Tramontane*, being by his Brother left out of his Will, and that to prove his Injustice, he had in a full Assembly of both Orders recited two former Wills made and testified in the publick place of Elections, by which this Brother was made Heir of the greatest part, only there was premis'd to him the sum of an hundred and fifty Sesterces ; after he had long complain'd to his Friends that sooth'd his indignation, took a resolution not to trouble the ashes of his Brother in a Court of Judicature. Yet they, whom he had made his Heirs, were so far from being so near a kin by the Fathers side, that they were not the next to him ; but strangers and poor. So that the Silence seem'd to be wicked, and the Pride contumelious.

5. Happy in their Impunity, but whether these Wills were not worse in offending, is the Question. *Quintus Cecilius* by the diligent endeavour and great Liberalitie of *L. Lucullus*, having attain'd to a hand-

some degree of Dignity, and an ample Patrimony; when he had fully resolv'd that he alone should be his Heir, and on his Death-bed had given him his Rings from off his Fingers; yet by his Will adopted *Pomponius Atticus*, and made him Heir to all his Estate. But the *Roman* People tying a Halter about the neck of the Carcass of that deceitful and fallacious person, dragg'd him along the High-way. Thus the wicked wretch had a Son and Heir, such as he desir'd; but a Funeral and a Grave, such as he deserv'd.

6. Neither was *T. Marius Urbinus* worthy of any other; who by the favour of the divine *Augustus* the Emperour, being rais'd from the lowest condition of a common Souldier, to the highest commands in the Camp; and being by them enrich'd, not onely at other times declar'd, that he would leave his fortunes to him that had bestow'd them on him, and but the day before he died protested the same thing to *Augustus* himself; when as he had not so much as mention'd his name in his Will.

7. *Lucius Valerius*, whose surname was *Heptachordus*, having experienc'd the enmity of *Cornelius Balbus* in Court, as being plagued by his advice and management with several private Suits, and at length by a suborned witness being by him accus'd of a Capital Crime, leaving out his Advocates and Patrons, left him sole Heir; cow'd by such a dread, as turn'd his resolutions topsie turvie. For he lov'd his Ignominie, lov'd the dangers, and seem'd to wish he had bin condemn'd: being so kind to the authour of those mischiefs, and hating his defenders.

8. *T. Barrulus* upon his Death-bed deliver'd his Rings to *Lentulus Spinther*, whose kindness and friendship he had felt, as to his only Heir; yet left him nothing at all. How strangely at that very mo-

ment

ment of time (if it be of that force which we believe it to be) did Conscience punish that abominable creature! For between the very thoughts of his Ingratitude and Fallacy, he yielded up his last breath, as if some Tormenter had crucified his soul within him. For he knew that his passage from life to death was hateful to the Gods, and would be detested by the Infernal Spirits.

9. *Marcus Popilius* upon his death-bed beheld *Oppius Gallus* a Senator, with whom he had been familiar from his youth, as the Laws of antient friendship requir'd, and gave him the most loving words imaginable. For he thought him only worthy, of all that stood by him, of his last embrace and kiss: moreover he deliver'd him his Rings, to ensure him of that Inheritance which he was never likely to enjoy. Which Rings laid up in his Purse, and assigned to him by those that were present, *Oppius*, (a diligent man, but a mere mock of his dying friend) disinherits himself, and returns them diligently to his Heirs. What could be more dishonest or more unseasonable at this time and place? That a Senator of the *Roman* people, just ready to die, not only as a man to the world, but also as a publick person to the Senate-house, should have such a trick put upon him, against all the sacred Laws of friendship, when his eyes were set in his head, and he drawing his last breath?

LIB. VIII.

CHAP. I.

Of signal Publick Judgments.

Absolv'd.

Condemn'd.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. M. Horatius Tergeminus. | 1. L. Scipio Asiatick. |
| 2. Ser. Sulpitius Galba. | 2. C. Decianus. |
| 3. A. Gabinus. | 3. Sex. Titius. |
| 4. P. Claudius Pulcher. | 4. Claudia the daughter of App. the blind. |
| 5. Tuccia, the Vestal. | 5. M. Mulvius, C. Lollius, L. Sextilius, <i>Triumvirs.</i> |
| 6. L. Calpurnius Piso. | 6. P. Villius, the <i>Triumvir.</i> |
| 7. Q. Flavius, the <i>Augur.</i> | 7. M. Æmilius Porcina. |
| 8. Cosconius Callidianus. | 8. A certain Father of a Family. |
| 9. Atilius Calatinus. | |
| 10. M. Æmilius Scaurus, <i>jun.</i> | |
| 11. Aurelius Cotta. | Two Burnt: |
| 12. Callidius of Bononia. | |
| 13. The two Clœlii of Tarracinum. | 1. A <i>Matricide.</i> |
| | 2. A <i>Mistress of a Family.</i> |

ABSOLVED.

NOW that the doubtful motions of Judgments may more easily be endured, let us relate for what causes they that laboured under Envy, were either acquitted or condemned.

1. M. Hor-

1. *M. Horatius* being condemned by *Tullus* the King for having slain his Sister, was acquitted by appealing to the people. The one was incens'd by the Cruelty of the Murther, the other by the reason of the fact inclin'd to Mercy : believing the immature love of the Virgin more severely than impiously punish'd. And thus the brothers arm being sav'd by so stout a correction, reap'd as much honour from the blood of his near relation, as from the blood of an enemy.

2. Before, the *Roman* people shewed themselves fierce preservers of Chastity; afterwards more mild Judges than Justice it self required. For when *Servius Galba* was severely accused by *Libo*, a Tribune of the People, for that being a Prætor in *Spain*, he had put to death a great number of the *Lusitanians*, contrary to his Faith given them; and that *Cato*, at that time very aged, in an Oration upon publick Record, had made good what the Tribune had done; so that the party accused had not a word to say for his own defence; yet when with tears in his eyes he only recommended to the Assembly his little Children, and the young Son of *Sulpitius Gallus*, neerly related to him, he so appeas'd the wrath of his Judges, that he, who was but just now ready to be condemn'd by the Vote of all, had hardly in an instant one Vote to his prejudice. Pitie, not Equity, rul'd that Inditement; since that Absolution that could not be granted to Innocency, was given out of respect to the Children.

3. Like to this was that which follows. *Aulus Gabinus*, in the height of Infamy, being by the accusation of *C. Memmius* expos'd to the suffrages of the People, seem'd to be past all hope. For the Inditement was full, the Defence weak, and his Judges such as with a precipitate malice desired his punishment.

ment. The Officers and Imprisonment hovered before his eyes, and yet all vanished away by the interposition of propitious Fortune. For *Sisenna*, the Son of *Gabinus*, by an impulse of consternation, throwing himself a Suppliant at the feet of *Memmius*, besought there some asswagement of the Tempest, where the whole fury of the Storm first arose. Whom the Victor beholding with a stern countenance, and tearing his Ring from his finger, suffer'd for some time to lye groveling upon the ground. Which sad spectacle wrought that effect, that *Laelius* the Tribune by a general consent order'd the prisoner to be set at liberty. Teaching us, that no man ought insolently to abuse the successes of Prosperity, nor over-weakly to be cast down by Adversity.

4. Which is made manifest by the next Example. *Publius Claudius*, I cannot tell whether to the greater detriment of Religion or his Countrey (in regard he condemn'd the antient Customes of the one, and lost a noble Navy of t'other) being expos'd to the anger of the People; when it was thought he could no way avoid the punishment that he deserv'd, saved himself from Condemnation, by the benefit of a sudden storm. By which means the Trial being laid aside, it pleas'd the People never to bring it on again, as if the Gods themselves had forbid it. Thus was he saved by a Land-storm, whom a Sea-tempest had like to have brought to condemnation.

5. By the same sort of assistance the Chastity of *Tuccia*, a *Vestal* Virgin, and accus'd of Incest, escap'd out of a black cloud of Infamy. Who trusting to the sincerity of her Innocency, ventur'd the hope of her safety upon a doubtful argument. For, snatching up a sieve, *Vesta*, said she, *If I have always attended thy Rites with clean and chaste hands, grant that I may take up water out of Tiber in this, and carry it*

to thy Temple. Nature gave way to the rash and bold Imprecation of the Priests.

6. *Lucius Piso* also being accused by *Claudius Pulcher*, for having done great and intolerable injuries to the Roman Allies, by a lucky chance escaped the fear of an unquestioned ruine: For at the same time that they were about to give severe Judgment against him, there fell a sudden shower, which filled his mouth full of dirt, as he lay prostrate at the feet of his Judges. Which Spectacle changed the whole Trial from Severity into Pity and Clemency. For they believ'd he had given full satisfaction to their Allies, by being compell'd to prostrate himself so submissively, and rise again with so much deformity.

7. I will adde two that escaped by their Accusers own fault. *Quintus Flavius* the Augur was accused by *Valerius* the *Ædil*, and proved guilty to the People; and being condemn'd by the Votes of fourteen Tribes, cryed out he was innocently condemn'd. To whom *Valerius* made answer with a loud voice, that he car'd not whether he were put to death Guilty or Innocent, so he were put to death. Which violent speech brought over the rest of the Tribes to his Adversaries side. He had cast his enemy: when he certainly thought him ruin'd, he restor'd him; and lost the victory, even in the victory it self.

8. *C. Cosconius* found guilty by the *Servilian Law*, and for many evident and notorious crimes condemn'd, was sav'd by one Verse recited in the Sessions-House by *Valerius Valentinus* his Adversary, signifying by a Poetical Joke, that he had defil'd a noble Youth and a free Virgin. For they thought it unjust that he should go away Victor, who rather deserv'd to give the Palm from himself, than to take it from another. Therefore was *Valerius* rather condemn'd
by

by the Absolution of *Cosconius*, than *Cosconius* freed at his Trial.

9. I will touch upon those also whose Crimes having ruin'd all their hopes, have been pardon'd for the renown of their Relations. *A. Atilius Calatinus* being condemn'd for having betrayed the Town of *Sora*, and a person otherwise infamous, only a few words of *Q. Maximus*, his Father-in-law, sav'd from the threatening danger: wherein he affirmed, that if he found him guilty of that crime, he would break off his affinity. Presently the People yielded up their own to the judgment of one man; believing it an unworthy thing, not to believe his Testimony, whom they had entrusted in the greatest Dangers of the Commonwealth.

10. *M. Æmilius Scaurus* also guilty of Bribery, made so lame and pitiful defence at his Trial, that his Accuser said openly, that he should have liberty to name an hundred and twenty witnesses for himself; and that he would be content to have the prisoner acquitted, if he could produce so many in the Province, from whom he had never taken any thing. Yet, though he could not make use of so fair a condition, he was freed for the sake of his Nobility, and the fresh memory of his Father.

11. But as the Fame of Great men has prevailed to protect the Guilty, so has it as little avail'd to oppress them: rather it has bin a safeguard to them in the height of Prosecution. *P. Scipio Æmilianus* accused *L. Cotta* to the Prætor; whose cause, though it were full of deep crimes, was seven times delayed, and the eighth judgment acquitted him. For those wise men were loath it should be thought that his Condemnation had bin, because his Accuser was so great a person. And therefore I believe they reason'd thus amongst themselves: We must not admit him

him that seeks the life of another, to bring Triumphs, Trophies and Spoils to the seat of Judgment : Let him be terrible to his Enemy ; but let not a Citizen, trutting to his high Merits and great Honour, prosecute a Citizen.

12. Not more eager were those Judges against a most noble Accuser, than these were mild toward a Criminal of a far lower degree. *Callidius of Bononia*, being taken by night in the Husbands Bed-chamber, being brought to answer for the Adultery, he buoyed himself up among the greatest and most violent waves of Infamy, swimming like corn in a Shipwrack, laying hold upon a very slight kind of defence. For he pleaded, that he was carried thither, for the Love of a Servant-boy. The place was suspected, the time suspicious, the Mistress of the house was suspected, and his Youth suspected : But the confession of a more intemperate Lust, freed him from the Crime of Adultery.

13. The next is an example of more concernment. When the two Brothers of *Clatius* were brought to answer for Parricide, whose Father was kill'd in his bed, while the Sons lay asleep in the same Chamber, and neither Servant nor Freed-man could be found upon whom to fasten the suspicion of the Murder : They were both acquitted, only for this reason, that it was made appear to the Judges, that they were both found fast asleep with the door open. Sleep, the certain mark of innocent security, sav'd the unfortunate. For it was adjudg'd impossible, that having murdered their Father, they could have slept so securely over his wounds and blood.

PERSONS Condemned.

1. Now we will briefly touch upon those, to whom things

things beside the question did more harm, than their own Innocency did good. *L. Scipio*, after a most noble Triumph over King *Antiochus*, was condemned for taking Money of him. Not that I think he was brib'd to remove beyond the Mountain *Taurus*, him that was lately Lord of all *Asia*, and just going to lay his victorious hands upon *Europe*. But being otherwise a man of a most upright life, and free far enough from any such suspicion, he could not resist that envy that haunted the two famous Surnames of the two Brothers:

2. *Scipio* was a person of high splendour. But *Decianus*, a person of unspotted Integrity, was ruin'd by his own tongue. For when he accused *P. Furius*, a man of a lewd life, because that in some part of his Declamation he ventured to complain of the Death of *Saturninus*, did not only not condemn the Guilty, but suffered the Punishment appointed for him.

3. The same case overthrew *C. Titius*: He was innocent, and in favour with the People for the *Agrarian Law*. But because he had the statue of *Saturninus* in his house, the whole College of Magistrates with one general consent ruined him.

4. We may to these adde *Claudia*, whom though innocent of a crime, an impious Imprecation ruined. For being crowded by the multitude, as she returned home from the Playes, she wished that her Brother, by whom we had the greatest loss of our Naval Forces, were alive again, that being made often Consul, he might by his ill conduct rid the City of the pestement of the People.

5. We may pass to those whom the violence of Condemnation snatched away for slight causes. *M. Mulvius*, *Cn. Lellius*, *L. Sextilius* Triumvirs, because they did not come so quickly, as they ought, to quench a Fire that happend in the *Holy way*, being cited before

fore the People at a prefixed day by the Tribune, were condemned.

6. *Publius Villius* also, Nocturnal Triumvir, being accused by *Aquilus* the Tribune, fell by the Sentence of the People, because he was negligent in going his watch.

7. Very severe was that Sentence of the People, when they deeply fin'd *M. Æmilius Percina*, being accused by *L. Cassius*, for having built his House in the Village of *Alfium* a little too high.

8. Nor is that Condemnation to be suppress'd of one, who being over-fond of his little Boy, and being by him desir'd to buy him some Chitterlings for Supper; because there were none to be got in the Country, kill'd a Plough-Ox, to satisfy the Boys desire. For which reason he was brought to publick Trial: Innocent, had he not lived in the antient times.

Neither Quitted nor Condemned.

1. Now to say something of those, that being questioned for their Lives, were neither quitted nor condemned. There was a Woman brought before *Popilius Lenas* the Prætor, for having beaten her Mother to Death with a Club. But the Prætor adjudged nothing against her, neither one way nor other. For it was plain, that she did it to revenge the death of her Children, whom the Grand-mother, angry with her Daughter, had poysoned.

2. The same demur made *Dolabella* Proconsul of *Asia*. A woman of *Smyrna* killed her Husband and her Son, understanding that they had killed another Son of hers, a hopeful young man, which she had by a former Husband. *Dolabella* would not take cognizance of the Cause, but sent it to be determined by the *Areopagi* at *Athens*. Unwilling to set a wo-

man at liberty, defiled with two Murthers, nor to punish her whom a just Grief had mov'd to do it. Considerately and mildly did the *Roman Magistrate*: nor did the *Areopagite* act less wisely, who examining the cause, bound the Accuser and the Criminal to appear an hundred years after, upon the same ground as *Dolabella* acted. Only he by transmitting the Trial, they by deferring, delay'd the difficult Sentence, or Condemnation or Acquittal.

CHAP. II.

Of remarkable private Judgments, whereby were condemned

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|------------------------------|--|
| 1. T. Claud. Centumalus. | 4. A certain person for riding a horse farther than bired for. |
| 2. Octacilia Laterensis. | |
| 3. C. Titinius Minturnensis. | |

TO Publick Judgments I will adde private ones, the Equity whereof in the Complainants will more delight than a great number offend the Reader.

1. *Claudius Centumalus* being commanded by the Augurs to pull down some of the height of his House, which he had built upon the *Calian Mount*, because it hindered them from observing their Auguries from the Tower, sold it to *Calpurnius Lanatius*, concealing the command of the Augurs. By whom *Calpurnius* being compelled to pluck down his House, brought *Marc. Porcius Cato*, father of the famous *Cato*, to *Claudius* as an Arbitrator, and the form of Writing, *Whatever he ought to give him, or do in good Equity.*

Cato,

Cato, understanding that *Claudius* had for the nonce suppress'd the Augurs Edict, presently condemn'd him to *Calpurnius*; with all the Justice in the world. For they that sell according to Conscience and Equity, ought neither to enhance the hopes of the Bargain, nor conceal the Inconveniencies.

2. I have recited a Judgment famous in those times: Yet what I am about to relate, is not quite buried in silence. *C. Visellius Varro* being taken with a great fit of Sickness, suffer'd a Judgment of three thousand pieces of Money, as borrowed of *Otacia Laterensis*, with whom he had lived as her Gallant: With this designe, that if he died, she might claim that sum of the Heirs; colouring the Liberality of his Lust, under the title of a Debt. After that, *Visellius*, contrary to *Otacia's* wishes, recovers. Who offended that she had lost her prey by his recovery, from a close Friend began to act like an open Usurer, challenging the Money, which as shamelessly as vainly he gap'd for by a void contract. Which *Aquillius*, a man of great authority and knowledge in the Civil Law, being chosen to be Judge of, consulting with the Principal Men of the City, by his Prudence and good Conscience foyled the woman. And if by the same form *Varro* might have been condemn'd, and the adversary absolv'd, no question but he would have willingly punish'd his soul and unwarrantable folly. Now he stifled the calumny of a private Action, and left the crime of Adultery to publick Justice.

3. Much more stoutly and with a souldierlike Gallantry did *Marinus* behave himself in a Judgment of the same nature. For when *T. Titinius* of *Minturnum* married *Fannia* his wife, because he knew her to be unchast, and having divorc'd her for the same crime, would have kept her Dower: he being chosen Judge, and having examined the business, took *Titinius*

aside, and perswaded him to proceed no farther, but to return the woman her Dower ; but finding that all his perswasions were in vain, and being forced to pronounce Sentence, he fin'd the woman for Adultery a Sesterce, and *Titinius* the whole sum of the Portion. Telling them, that therefore he had observed that method of judgment, because it seem'd to him apparent, that he had married *Fannia*, whom he knew to be a lewd woman, that he might cheat her of her estate. This *Fannia* was she, who afterwards, when *Marius* was proclaimed an Enemy, received him into her house at *Minturnum*, all bedaubed with mud and dirt, and assisted him what lay in her power ; remembring that he had adjudged her for Unchastity, out of his rigorous manner of life, but that he had saved her Dower, out of his Religion and Piety.

4. That Judgment was also much talked of, by which a certain person was condemned for theft, because having borrowed a Horse to carry him to *Aricia*, he rode him to the furthestmost cliff of that City. What can we do here but praise the Modesty of that Age, wherein such minute excesses from Honesty were punished ?

CHAP. III.

Of Women that pleaded Causes before Magistrates.

1. *Amasia Sentia*. *Licinius Buccio*.
 2. *Afrania, the wife of* 3. *Hortensia Q. F.*

N Or must we omit those Women, whom the condition of their Sex, and the Garments of Modesty could not hinder from appearing and speaking in publick Courts of Judicature.

1. *Amasia Sentia*, being guilty, before a great concourse of people pleaded her own cause, *Titius* the Prætor then sitting in Court; and observing all the parts and elegancies of a true Defence, not onely diligently but stoutly was quitted in her first Action by the sentences of all. And because that under the shape of a woman she carried a manly resolution, they called her *Androgynon*.

2. *Afrania*, the wife of *Licinius Buccio* the Senator, being extremely affected with Law-suits, always pleaded for herself before the Prætor. Not that she wanted Advocates, but because she abounded in Impudence. So that for her perpetual vexing the Tribunal with her bawling, to which the Court was unaccustomed, she grew to be a noted Example of Female Calumnie. So that the name of *Afrania* was given to all contentious Women. She dyed when *Cæsar* was Consul with *Servilius*. For it is better to remember when such a Monster went out of the world, than when she came in.

3. *Hortensia*, the daughter of *Q. Hortensius*, when

the order of Matrons was too heavily taxed by the Triumvirs, and that none of the Men durst undertake to speak in their behalfs, she pleaded the Matrons cause before the Triumvirs, not only with boldness, but with success. For the image of her fathers Eloquence obtained, that the greatest part of the Imposition was remitted. Q. *Hortensius* then revived in the Female Sex, and breath'd in the words of his Daughter: Whose force and vigour if his Posterity of the Male Sex would follow, so great an inheritance of *Hortensian* Eloquence would not be cut off by one action of a woman.

CHAP. IV.

Of Rackings.

Endured by

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| 1. <i>The Servant of M. Agrius.</i> | <i>of Fannius.</i> |
| 2. <i>Alexander the Servant</i> | 3. <i>Philip Servant to Ful. Flaccus.</i> |

AND that we may finish all sorts of Judgments, let us recite those Tortures, to which either no credit at all was given, or else rashly too much faith.

1. The Servant of *M. Agrius* was accused to have murdered the servant of *C. Fannius*, and for that reason being rack'd by his Master, he constantly affirmed, that he did commit the fact. Thereupon being delivered up to *Fannius*, he was put to death. In a little while after, he that was thought to be slain, returned home.

2. On the other side, *Alexander*, the Servant of *Fannius*, being suspected to have murdered *C. Fl.* a Roman

Roman Knight, being six times tortur'd, denied that he was any way concerned in it. But as if he had confessed it, he was condemned by the Judges, and by *Calpurnius* the Triumvir crucified.

3. *Fulvius Flaccus* the Consul pleading, *Philip* his Servant, upon whom the whole testimony lay, being eight times tortur'd, would not utter a word to his Masters prejudice. And yet he was condemned as guilty, when one eight times tortur'd had given a more certain argument of Innocence, than eight once tormented had afforded.

CHAP. V.

Of Testimonies void or confirmed.

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| 1. <i>Of the Cæpio's and Metelli's against Q. Pompey.</i> | <i>Luculli, Hortensii, and Lepidus, against Gracchus.</i> |
| 2. <i>Of Æmilius Scaurus against several.</i> | 5. <i>Of M. Cicero against P. Clodius.</i> |
| 3. <i>Of L. Crassus against M. Marcellus.</i> | 6. <i>Of P. Servilius Isauricus, against a certain person.</i> |
| 4. <i>Of Q. Metellus, the</i> | |

1. **I**T follows that I relate pertinent Examples concerning Witnesses. *Cæus* and *Servilius Cæpio*, born both of the same Parents, and having ascended through all the degrees of Honour to the height of Greatness: Also the two Brothers *Q.* and *L. Metellus*, of the Consular and Censors Dignity, and the other that had triumphed, giving in severe testimony against *Q. Pompey A. F.* who stood accused of Bribery: the credit of their testimony was not quite

abrogated, by the acquittal of *Pompey*; but it was done so, that an Enemy might not seem to be oppressed by power.

2. *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, Prince of the Senate, prosecuted *C. Memmius* for Bribery, with smart testimony. He followed *Flavius*, accused by the same Law, with the same fierceness; he profestly endeavoured to ruine *C. Norbanus*, for Treason put to the publick rack: yet neither by his Authority, which was very great, nor by his Piety, of which no man doubted, could he do any of them any harm.

3. *L. Crassus* also, as great among the Judges, as *Scaurus* among the Conscrip't Fathers: For he governed their Opinions and Judgments by the potent and happy salaries of his Eloquence; Prince of the Court of Judicature, as the other of the Senate: Yet when he shot a Thunderbolt of Testimony against *Marcellus*, it fell heavy indeed, but vanished in smoak.

4. Again, there was *Q. Metellus* the holy, the *Luculli*, the *Hortensii*, *M. Lepidus*, what weight did they not onely lay upon the life of *C. Cornelius* accused of Treason, but also denied that the Commonwealth could stand, so long as he were safe? All which Ornaments of the City, it shames me to relate it, were all kept off by the shield of Justice.

5. What! *M. Cicero*, who by the warfare of the Law attained to the highest Honours and the noblest place of Dignity, was he not as a witness thrown out of the very Camp of his Eloquence, while he swore that *Clodius* was at his house in *Rome*? for by that one argument of his absence, the Prisoner fended off the villany which he had committed. And so the Judges rather chose to acquit *Clodius* of the Incest, than *Cicero* of the Infamy of Perjury.

6. Among so many Witnesses of high degree, I
will

will relate one, whose authority is confirmed by a new manner of reasoning in Court. *Publius Servilius*, a Consul, a Cenfor, a Triumpher, who added the name of *Isauricus* to that of his Ancestors, when walking by the Court he saw several Witnesses produced against a Criminal, he placed himself among the Witnesses, and to the great admiration of the Parties Friends and Accusers, thus began : *This person*, said he, *most reverend Judges, that pleads, what Countrey he is of, or what course of life he leads, or whether he be deservedly or wrongfully accused, I know not : But this I know, that meeting me once in the Laurentine Way, as I was travelling along, in a very narrow passage, he would not alight from his horse ; which whether it belong to your cognizance, I know not, do you consider that ; I thought it not fit to conceal this matter.* Presently the Judges condemned the Party, scarce hearing any other Witnesses. For the Grandeur of the Speaker prevailed with them, and his Indignation at the contempt of his neglected Dignity ; believing that he, that scorn'd to reverence Princes, would not stick to run into any wickedness.

C H A P. VI.

Of those who committed themselves what they revenged in others.

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| 1. C. Lic. Hoplomachus.
2. C. Marius, six times Consul. | 3. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
4. Q. Varius Ibrida. |
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NOr must we pass over in silence those, who committed themselves what they condemned in others.

1. C. Li-

1. *C. Licinius* surnamed *Hoplomachus*, desired of the Prætor that his Father might be deprived of his estate, as one that consumed it. What he requested he obtained. But he himself, in a short time after, when the Old-man was dead, presently wasted a great sum of Money, and several Farms left him by his Father. Worthy that vicissitude of punishment; as one that rather chose to consume his estate, than take it as an Heir.

2. *C. Marius* had acted the part of a great and faithful Citizen, in ruining of *L. Saturninus*, who held forth a Cap to the Slaves, like an Ensigne, inviting them to take up Armes. But when *Sylla* invaded the City with his Army, he himself fled to the assistance of the Slaves, by holding forth the Cap, as the other had done. Therefore while he imitates a fact which he had punished, he found another *Marius*, to ruine him himself.

3. But *Caius Licinius Stolo*, by whom the Plebeians were empowred to sue for the Consulship, when he had made a Law that no man should possess above five hundred Acres of Land, he purchas'd a thousand himself; and to cover the matter, made over the half to his Son. For which reason being prosecuted by *Popilius Lenas*, he was the first that fell by his own Law: And taught us, that nothing ought to be imposed, but what every one first imposes upon himself.

4. *Q. Varius*, because of the obscurity of the place where he was born, surnamed *Ibrida*, or half-Citizen, being a Tribune of the People, made a Law against the Intercession of the Colledge of Tribunes; wherein there was a command to enquire by whose treachery the Allies were stirr'd to take up Armes, to the great detriment of the Commonwealth. For first he stirr'd up the War of the Allies, and then the Civil War.

But

But while he acts the part of a pestiferous Tribune, before that of a certain Citizen, his own Law cut him off, entangled in his own domestick snares.

CHAP. VII.

Of Study and Industry.

Among the ROMANS.

1. M. Cato *the Greater*.
2. Cato *of Utica*.
3. M. Terentius Varro.
4. C. Livius Drusus.
5. Paulus *the Senator and Pontius Lupus*.
6. Crassus Mutianus.
7. Q. Roscius, *the Comedian*.

3. Plato *of Athens*.
4. Democritus *of Abdera*.
5. Carneades *the Cyrenæan*.
6. Anaxagoras *the Clazomenian*.
7. Archimedes *of Syracuse*.
8. Socrates *the Athenian*.
9. Isocrates *the Athenian*.
10. Chrysippus *of Tarsus*.
11. Cleanthes *of Assium*.
12. Sophocles *of Athens*.
13. Simonides *of Ceji*.
14. Solon *of Athens*.
15. Themistocles *of Athens*.

FORREIGNERS.

1. Demosthenes *of Athens*.
2. Pythagoras *of Samos*.

Wherefore do I delay to commemorate the force of Industry? By whose active spirit the Stripends of Warfare are corroborated, and the glory of the Forum is enflamed; all Studies are cherished in her faithful breast: Whatever is performed by the Hand, by the Minde, by the Tongue, by her is added to the heap of applause; which being an admirable vertue, strengthens her self yet more by her own Consistency.

1. *Cato* in the fourscore and sixth year of his age, while he persists with a youthful vigour in defending the Commonwealth, accused of a Capital Crime, by his Enemies, pleaded his own Cause: Yet no man ever observed so large a Memory, a greater strength of Body, or less hesitation of Speech. Because he kept all those things in equal condition, and perpetually exercised by Industry. And at the very conclusion of his laborious life, he opposed his own most eloquent Defence to the Accusation of *Galba* touching *Spain*,

The same person desired to learn the *Greek* Language: How late, we may thence guess, in that he was an old man before he learnt to read *Latine*. But when he had won great Honour by his Eloquence, he did it to make himself skilful in the Civil Law.

2. Whose wonderful Offspring, nearer to our age, *Cato* also, burn't with such a desire of learning, that in the very Court it self, before the Senate fill'd, he would be reading *Greek* Books. By which Industry he shewed that some want time, others have more than they need.

3. But *Terentius Varro*, an Example of Humane Life, and one that might be truly call'd, *A space of years*; not so much for his years, which were equal to an Age of Time, as for the vivacity of his Style. For in the same Bed his Breath, and the course of his egregious Works expired.

4. *Livius Drusus*, a man of the same perseverance, who defective in vigour of Age and Eye-sight, most bountifully interpreted the Civil Law to the People, and composed most profitable Monuments for them that desire to learn it. For though Nature might make him old, and Fortune blind, yet neither could prevent him from being vigorous and quick-sighted in minde.

5. But

5. But *Paulus* the Senator, and *Pontius Lupus* a Roman Knight, famous Pleadors in their times, having both lost their sight, with the same Industry continued at the Bar. Therefore were they also more frequently heard, amid the concourses of some that were delighted with their Wit, and of others that admir'd their Constancy. For they that are disheartened by such Misfortunes, generally desire dismissal, adding voluntary to fortuitous darkness.

6. Now *P. Crassus*, when he came Consul into *Afia* against King *Aristonicus*, with so much care he comprehended in his minde the knowledge of the Greek tongue, that he understood it, though divided into five Dialects, in all its parts and quantities. Which mightily won him the love of the Allies, while he answered every one in the Language wherein they made their requests before his Tribunal.

7. Let not *Roscius* be left out, a notable Example of Theatrical Industry, who never exposed to the People any other Action or Gesture, but what he had studied before at his own house. Therefore did not the Art of Playing make *Roscius* esteemed, but *Roscius* made the Art of Playing esteemed; whereby he obtained not onely the favour of the people, but the familiarity of Princes. These are the rewards of an intent, anxious, and never-ceasing Study: For which reason the person of a Player is not impudently inserted among the praises of so many great men.

F O R R A I G N E R S.

1. The *Grecian* Industry also, because it was very advantageous to ours, ought to receive the fruit which it deserves from the *Latine* Tongue. *Demosthenes*, upon the mentioning of whose name arises in the thoughts

thoughts of the hearers the perfection of the greatest Eloquence, when in his youth he could not pronounce the first Letter of the Art which he so much affected, with so much labour vanquished the defect of Pronunciation, that no man ever pronounced it naturally more freely. Then again, having a shrill squeaking Voice, harsh to the ear, he brought it at length to a grave and acceptable Tone. Then being but a weakly man, he borrowed from labour and practice, that strength of Body which nature had denied him. For he comprehended several Sentences in one breath, and pronounced them walking up hill with a swift pace. And standing upon the Sea-side, made his Declamations to the roaring of the Waves, that he might enure his ears with patience to the clamours and noises of tumultuous Assemblies. He is reported also to have accustomed himself to speak much and long with stones held in his mouth, that he might speak with more freedom when it was empty. He warred against Nature, and came off Victor; with a most obstinate strength of minde overcoming her malignity.

2. And that we may ascend to a more antient act of Industry, *Pythagoras*, a most perfect work of wisdom from his Childhood, and inflamed with a desire of understanding all Honesty and Vertue, went into *Egypt*, where being accustomed to the language, he search'd the Commentaries of all the antient Priests, and brought away the Observations of innumerable Ages. Then travelling into *Persia*, he delivered himself up to be taught by the exact prudence of the *Magi*: From whom he treasur'd up in his docible minde the Motions of the Stars; their Courses, their Effects, Properties, and Force, being courteously explained to him. From thence he visited *Creet* and *Lacedæmon*, into whose Laws and Manners having made inspection, he descended to the *Olympian Games*; where

where when, to the admiration of all *Greece*, he had given evident demonstration of his multiplied knowledge, being asked by what Title he went by, he made answer, that he was not *Wise*, (for that title belong'd only to the seven most excellent men) but a *Lover of Wisdom*. He also travelled into part of *Italy*, then called the bigger *Græcia*, in the chiefest and richest Cities whereof he shewed the effects of his Studies. Whose burning Funeral-Pile *Metapontus* beheld with eyes full of veneration : A Town more famous for *Pythagoras* Tomb, than the monument of its own ashes.

3. *Plato* having *Athens* for his place of Nativity, and *Socrates* for his Master, both place and man fertile in Learning ; fraught also himself with a celestial abundance of Wit, when he was accounted the wisest of all Mortals, to that degree, that if *Jupiter* should descend from Heaven, he could not make use of a more elegant or happier Eloquence ; yet for all this he travell'd to *Egypt*, where he learnt from the Priests of that Nation, the manifold secrets of *Geometry*, and the reason of their Celestial Observations. And at the same time that the studious Gentlemen of *Athens* sought for *Plato*, whom every one strove to have his Tutor , he by visiting the riddle-like Banks of *Nile*, and vast Regions, extended Barbarisme, and the winding Canals of a strange Countrey, of an Ancient Master became a Scholar. No wonder then that he travell'd into *Italy*, there from *Archytas* of *Tarentum*, *Timeus*, *Arion* and *Cætus* of *Locri*, to learn the precepts of *Pythagoras*. For so great a plenty, so great an abundance of Learning was every where to be collected, that it might easily be dispersed from one place to another, through the whole world. He had also under his head at above four-

score

score years of age, when he lay a dying, the jeas of *Sopbron*. So that the last hour of his Life was not free from the exercise of Study.

4. But *Democritus*, for all his vast wealth, which was so great, that his Father could have given a Banquet to the Army of *Xerxes*, that his minde might be more free for the study of Letters, keeping a small pittance to himself, gave all the rest to his Countrey. Then abiding at *Athens* for several years, spending all his time in gaining and practising learning, he liv'd unknown in the City, as he testifies in a certain Volume. I am in a maze at so much Industry, and therefore must go on.

5. *Carneades* was a laborious and diuturnal Soldier of Wisdome's: For after the expiration of ninety years, he made one end of Living and Philosophizing. He had so addicted himself to the works of Learning, that when he sat down to eat, busie in his thoughts, he would forget to reach his meat. But *Melissa*, whom he kept as a Wife, dutiful to supply his hunger, never went to interrupt him, but fed him. So that he lived only in his Soul, which was encompassed with a superfluous Body. Being to dispute with *Chrysippus*, he purged his body beforehand with Hellebore, to explain his own minde more attentively, and refel his adversary more powerfully. Which Potions he made afterwards to be coveted on purpose by such as were covetous of applause.

6. What can we think was the zeal of *Anaxagoras* for Learning? Who returning home after a long Travel, and seeing his estate lye untill'd and waste; *I had not been safe*, said he, *had not these decayed*. An expression becoming far-fetch'd Wisdome. For had he labour'd more in the manuring his Land, than his Minde, he had remained Master of his family at home,

home, but had not returned into his Country the great *Anaxagoras*.

7. I might say that the Industry of *Archimedes* was very profitable, but that it gave him life, and took it from him again. For when *Syracuse* was taken *Marcellus* was sensible that his Victory was much delayed by his Engines, yet infinitely taken with the Prudence of the person, he commanded the Souldiers to spare his Life; assuming perhaps almost as much glory in saving *Archimedes*, as in destroying *Syracuse*. But while *Archimedes* was making Figures with his minde and eyes fixed upon the ground, a Souldier, that was broken into his house to plunder, with his drawn Sword asked him who he was. The Philosopher was so intent, that he return'd him no direct Answer, but parting the dust with his finger, *Have a care*, said he, *of spoiling this Circle*. Thereupon, as one that slighted the Victor of the Empire, the Souldier cut off his Head, and blended his blood with the Lineaments of his Art. Thus the same Study gave him his Life, and deprived him of it again.

8. Most certain it is that *Socrates*, when he was stricken in years, began to learn Musick; believing it better to learn that Art, late than never. How little an accession of knowledge was that to *Socrates*? Yet the obstinate Industry of the person, to so much wealth and treasure of Learning, would also add the profitable Elements of Musick. Thus while he thought himself poor to learn, he made himself rich to teach.

9. And that we may reduce the Examples of a long and successful Industry to one head; *Isocrates* compos'd that most noble Book, entitled Περὶ Παιδείας, when he was fourscore and four years of Age, yet a work full of life and spirit. By which it appears, that the members of learned men growing old, yet

their Minds, by the benefit of Industry, retain the full vigour of Youth. Nor did he end his days, till he had five years enjoyed the fruit of the admiration of his work.

10. Lesser bounds terminated the life of *Chrysippus*, yet was he not short-liv'd; for he left behind him the thirty ninth Book of his *Logicks*, a book of exact nicety, begun in the Eightieth Year of his Age. Whose Study in delivering the monuments of his Wit, took up so much time and labour, that a longer life would be requisite to understand the depth of his writings.

11. Thee also, *Cleanthes*, so industrious in searching after, and so laboriously delivering Wisdom, the Deity of Industry could not but admire; when she beheld thee in thy youth, maintaining thy self by carrying water in the Night, in the Day a diligent hearer of *Chrysippus*, and till the Hundredth year within one, with attentive care instructing thy Disciples. With a double labour thou hast taken up the space of one Age, making it uncertain, whether thou wert a better Scholar or a Master.

12. *Sophocles* had also a glorious combat with Nature, as liberal of his wonderful Works, as she was liberal in giving him long Time to compose them. For he lived near an Hundred years, his *Oedipus Coloneus* being written by him just before his death. By which one Tragedy he won the honour from all the Poets in that way: Which *Jophon*, the Son of *Sophocles*, would not have concealed from Posterity, and therefore caused it to be inscribed upon his Fathers Tomb.

13. *Simonides* the Poet at Fourscore years of Age boasts himself, that he taught Verses, and contended for the prize at those years. Nor was it but reason that he should long enjoy the fruit of his own Wit,
wh

who was himself to communicate them for the benefit of eternity.

14. Now for *Solon*, how industrious he was, he has declared in his Verses: Wherein he signifies, that he grew old, always learning something; and the last day of his life confirmed it. For as his Friends were sitting by him, and discoursing among themselves upon some subject or other, he lifted up his head, then just about to bow to fate; and being asked why he did so; *That when I understand*, said he, *what it is you are disputing upon, I may dye*. Certainly Sloath had bin banished from among mankind, if all men should come into the world with the same Spirit that *Solon* left it.

15. How great was the Industry of *Themistocles*! Who though he had the care of the greatest affairs of his Countrey upon his shoulders, yet was able to remember the particular names of all his fellow-Citizens. And being through high Injustice driv'n from his Countrey, and compell'd to fly to *Xerxes*, whom a little before he had vanquish'd in battle, before he came into his presence, he accusom'd himself to the *Persian* language, that having purchas'd commendation by labour, he might render the Tone of his voice familiar, and so customary to the Kings ear.

16. The Applause of both which sorts of Industry, two Kings divided between them: *Cyrus* remembering all the names of his Souldiers; *Mithridates* learning two and twenty several Tongues spoken within his Dominions. The first, that he might address himself to his Army without a Director: The other, that he might discourse to the people, whom he govern'd, without an Interpreter.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Ease praised.

ROMANS.

FORRAIGNERS.

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|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. P. Æmilianus and C.
Lælius. | 1. Socrates of Athens. |
| 2. Mutius Scævola, Augur. | 2. Achilles in Homer. |

EAse, because it seems to be contrary to Industry, but chiefly to Labour, ought to be briefly touch'd upon: Not that which extinguishes, but which recreates Vertue. For the sloathful ought to avoid the one, and the brave and stout may desire the other. They, that they may not live like Drones; these, that by a seasonable intermission from toyl, they may be the fitter for Labour.

1. The famous pair of Friends, *Scipio* and *Lælius*, united together not only by the bond of Love, but by an association of all other Vertues; as they perform'd the journey of a painful life with equal steps, so they generally relax'd from business by consent. For it is certain, that at *Caieta* and *Laurentum*, they us'd to gather up Shells and little Stones upon the Shoar. And this *L. Crassus* often reported from the mouth of *Q. Scævola*, who was Son-in-Law to *Lælius*.

2. As for *Scævola*, as he was the most certain witness of their Relaxation, so he himself was wont to play at Ball; having us'd to delight himself in that sort of exercise, when the weight of his business was over. Sometimes he was wont to spend his time at
Chess

Chefs and Tables, after he had bin long ordering the Rights of his Citizens, and the Ceremonies of his Gods. For as he acted *Scævola* in serious things, so he shewed himself but only Man in his Sports and Recreations, as whom Nature will not suffer to abide continual Labour.

F O R R A I G N E R S .

1. This *Socrates* saw, to whom no part of Wisdom was obscure : which made him that he did not blush, when *Alcibiades* , setting a reed between his legs, laugh'd at him for playing with his little Children.

2. *Homer*, a Poet of a Celestial Wit, seem'd to be of the same minde, when he fitted the soft Harp to the Martial fingers of *Achilles*, to ease their Military pain with the soft recreations of Peace.

C H A P. IX.

Of the force of Eloquence.

In R O M A N S .

1. Mu. Valerius Maximus
Dictator.
2. Marcus Antonius *the*
Orator.
3. C. Aurelius Cotta.

S T R A N G E R S .

1. Pisistratus of Athens.
2. Pericles of Athens.
3. Hegesias of Cyrene.

THough it be certain that the force of Eloquence is infinitely prevalent ; yet is it convenient that it should be displayed under proper Examples, to the end the power thereof may be the better testified.

1. The Kings being ejected, the Common-people in dissention with the Fathers, betook themselves to Armes, and pitch'd upon the Banks of the River *Anio*, upon the holy Hill. So that the state of the Commonwealth was not only bad, but in a most miserable condition, the rest of the body being divided from the head. And unless Eloquence had befriended *Valerius*, the hopes of so great an Empire had bin ruin'd in its Infancy. For he by an Oration reduc'd the people, glorying in a new and unwonted freedome, to their obedience to the Senate, brought them to take sober counsels, and joyn'd the City to the City. Therefore to eloquent words, Wrath, Contumaciousness and Armes gave way.

2. Which also restrain'd the Swords of *Marius* and *Cinna*, raging with an impetuous desire of shedding Civil blood. For certain Souldiers being sent by their Captains to take off the Head of *M. Antonius*, stupified with his language, they return'd their drawn Swords unstain'd with blood into their Scabbards. Who being gone, *P. Antonius*, who had not heard the voice of *Mar. Antonius* to the Souldiers, performed the severe command, barbarously obsequious to his Masters. How eloquent therefore may we think him to be, whom none of his Enemies durst adventure to kill, who would but admit his charming language to his ears!

3. Divine *Julius*, the perfect Pillar as well of the celestial Deities as of humane Wit, demonstrated the force of his own Eloquence, saying in his Accusation of *Cn. Dolabella*, whom he convicted of Bribery, that the best cause in the world had been extorted from him by the Patronage of *C. Cotta*. For then the greatest force of Eloquence complain'd. Of which having made mention, because I can bring no greater Example at home, we must travel abroad.

STCAN-

STRANGERS.

1. *Pisistratus* is reported to have prevail'd so far by speaking, that the *Athenians* taken only with his Oration, permitted him the Regal Sway : And, which was more, when *Solon*, the greatest Lover of his Countrey, endeavour'd all he could to the contrary.

2. But *Pericles*, together with his happy endowments of Nature, carefully polish'd and instructed by his Master *Anaxagoras*, laid the yolk of Servitude upon the free necks of the *Athenians*. For he sway'd the City, and carried affairs which way he pleas'd. And when he spoke against the Will of the People, his language nevertheless was pleasing and popular. and therefore the calumniating Wit of the *Old Comedy*, though it would be snarling at his Power, yet confess'd, that there was an Eloquence sweeter than Honey that hung upon his Lips ; and that it left certain stings in the mindes of them that heard it. It is reported that a certain person, who being very old, chanc'd to hear the very first Oration of *Pericles* a young man, who at the same time had heard *Pisistratus* then decrepit with age, could not contain himself from crying out, *That that Citizen ought to be lookt after, because his Oration was most like to the Oration of Pisistratus*. Neither did the man fail in his judgment of the Speech, nor the presage of his disposition. For what was the difference between *Pisistratus* and *Pericles*, but that the first held the Government by force of Arms, the other governed without force ?

3. What may we think of the Eloquence of *Hegesias* the *Cyrenian* ? Who so represented the miseries of Life, that his words taking deep root in the hearts

of his hearers, begot a desire in many to seek a voluntary Death? And therefore he was forbid by King Ptolomie to dispute any farther upon that subject.

CHAP. X.

Of Pronuntiation, and apt Motion of the Body.

In ROMANS.

STRANGERS.

1. C. Gracchus.
2. Q. Hortensius.
3. M. Tullius.

1. Demosthenes the Athenian.

BUT the Ornaments of Eloquence consist in apt Motion of the Body, and due Pronuntiation : Wherewith when she has furnished her self, she assails men three ways ; by invading their Mindes, and delivering up the ears of the one and the eyes of the other to over-persuasion.

1. But to make this good in famous men ; C. Gracchus, more happy in his Eloquence than his Designes, because he strove with a turbulent Wit rather to disturb than defend the Commonwealth, as often as he spoke to the People, had a Servant that understood Music behinde him, who with an Ivory Pipe regulated the tone of his Voice, raising the note when it was too low, and pitching it lower when it was too high and eager : Because heat and violence of action, did not suffer him to be a true Judge of the equality.

2. Quintus Hortensius thinking there was very much to be atcribed to a decent and comly motion of the Body, spent more time in practising that, than in studying

studying for Eloquence. So that it was hard to know, whether the Concourse were greater to hear or see him: So mutually did his Aspect serve his words, and his words his Aspect. And therefore it is certain, that *Roscius* and *Æsopus*, the most skilful Actors in the world, would be always in Court when *Hortensius* pleaded, to carry away his postures to the Stage.

3. Now as for *M. Cicero*, he has himself declar'd, how great a value he set upon both these things, of which we have discours'd, in his Oration for *Galius*, reproaching *Calidius* the Accuser, that when he affirm'd that he would prove by Witnesses, Writings, and Examinations, that the Party accus'd had prepared poyson for him, he did it with a smooth Countenance, a faint Voice, and a calm manner of speaking, whereby he detected as well the fault of the Orator, as the argument of his weak cause, concluding thus; *Couldst thou do thus, M. Calidius, unless thou didst but counterfeit?*

STRANGERS.

1. Consentaneous to this was the judgment of *Demosthenes*, who being ask'd what was the most efficacious part that belong'd to speaking, answered, *ὑποκρισις*, or dissimulation of Speech and Gesture. Being again and a third time asked the same question, he gave the same answer; confessing that he owed almost all to it. Therefore was it rightly said of *Æschines*, who leaving *Athens* because of the Judicial Ignominy put upon him, and going to *Rhodes*, when he had there repeated his own Oration against *Ctesiphon*, and the Oration of *Demosthenes* for him, with a loud and pleasing voice, and that all admir'd the Eloquence of both, but somewhat more that of *Demosthenes*;

mosthenes; *What would ye have said*, replied he, *had ye heard him himself*? So highly did so great an Orator, and now so inveterate an enemy, adore the force and efficacy of his Adversaries Eloquence; confessing himself not to be a competent reader of his works: having experimented the vigour of his Eyes, the weight of his Countenance, and the perswasive Motions of his Body. And therefore nothing can be added to the work: yet in *Demosthenes* a great part of *Demosthenes* is absent, which is read rather, than heard.

CHAP. XI.

Of the rare effects of the Arts.

Among the Romans.

1. *In the Astrology of C. Sulpitius Gallus.*
2. *In the Divination of Spurina.*

Among Strangers.

1. *Pericles's Astrology.*

2. *Apelles's painting, and Lyliippus the Statuary's Art.*
3. *Alcarnenes's Vulcan.*
4. *Praxiteles's Venus.*
5. *Euphranor's Neptune.*
6. *Timanthes's Agamemnon.*
7. *Nealces's Horse.*

THE Effects also of the Arts repeated may afford something of pleasure: Whereby it will appear immediately how profitably they were invented. Things worth remembrance will be treasur'd up in a light place; and the labour of bringing them forth, will not want its reward.

1. The great care of *Sulpitius Gallus*, to furnish himself

himself with all manner of Learning, was very profitable to the Commonwealth. For being Lieutenant-General to *L. Paulus*, waging War against *Persus*, and the Moon happening to be eclipsed in a fair Night, whereby our Army was so terrified, looking upon it as some strange Prodigy, that they had almost lost all their Courage; he by a skilful discourse of the order of the heavenly Bodies, and the nature of the Stars, rid them of all their vain fears. So that the Liberal Arts of *Gallus* were in some measure the occasion of that famous Victory of *Paulus*. For had he not vanquished our Souldiers fear, the *Roman* General could not have overcome his Enemies.

2. More efficacious was the knowledg of *Spurina* in following the admonitions of the Gods. For he foretold to *C. Cesar*, that he should have a care of the next thirty days as fatal, the last of which was the *Ides* of *March*: Upon that day in the morning, when they both met at the house of *Calvinus Domitius*, cries *Cesar* to *Spurina*, *Dost thou know that the Ides of March are now come?* And he, *Dost thou not know, that they are not yet past?* The one had cast off all fear, believing the time suspected to be over; though the other did not think the last Minute to be void of danger. Would to Heaven the Diviner had rather fail'd in his Augury, than that the Parent of our Country had fail'd in his Security!

STRANGERS.

1. But to dive into Forreign effects; When upon the Suns being eclipsed upon a suddain, the *Athenians* were all in a maze at the unusual darkness, believing their own ruine to be foretold by the Celestial Portent; *Pericles* went into the crowd, and discoursed what he had learnt from his Master *Anaxagoras*, touching

touching the Course of the Sun and Moon : nor did he permit his fellow-Citizens to tremble any farther with vain fear.

2. How great was the honour that *Alexander* the King gave to *Art* , who would not suffer himself to be painted by any other but *Apelles*, nor to be cast in Plaister by any other than *Lysippus* ?

3. The *Vulcan* of *Alcamenes*, made with his own hands, fixes the eyes of all *Athens* upon it. For among all the rest of the foregoing marks of curious Workmanship, they admire also this, that he stands with one foot, hiding under his garment his dissembled Lameness : artificially signifying not the deformity, but the certain and proper mark of the God.

4. Whole Wife *Praxiteles* placed in Marble in the Temple of the *Gnidians*, as it were breathing, by reason of the Workmanship, not safe from the lustful embraces of *Macareus* the *Perinthian*. Which renders the error of a Horse more excusable, who seeing the Picture of a Mare, neigh'd after it : and the barking of Dogs, at the sight of a Dog painted ; and the Bull mov'd to Lust, upon sight of the brazen Cow in *Syracuse*, cast to the Life. For why should we wonder to see irrational Creatures deceived by *Art*, when we finde a sacrilegious Desire in Man rais'd up at the sight of a dumb stone ?

5. But Nature as she suffers *Art* sometimes to emulate her works, so sometimes she dismisses it, quite tir'd with labour in vain ; which the hands of the famous Artist *Euphranor* experimented : For when he painted twelve Gods at *Athens*, he finished the Picture of *Neptune* with the most Majestick Colours he could invent, intending yet to have outdone that in the Picture of *Jupiter*. But all his Invention being exhausted in the former work, his last endeavours could not come near his expectation.

6. What

6. What shall we say of that other famous Painter, who representing the doleful Sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, when he had placed about the Altar *Calebas* sad, *Ulysses* sorrowful, and *Menelaus* lamenting, by wrapping up of *Agamemnon's* face did he not confess, that the bitterness of the height of grief could not be express'd by Art? Therefore his Picture moisten'd with the tears of the Southsayer, her Friends and Brother, he left it to Affection to judge of the Father's Grief.

7. And that I may adde one Example of the same Art; A famous Painter had painted a Horse, new coming from being hard exercis'd, so rarely, that all that could be said was, that the Horse was not alive. But when he came to adde the froath to his Nostrils, so great an Artist spent many days without any satisfaction to himself. At length, vexed to see himself disappointed, he took up a Sponge that lay next him bedaub'd with all sorts of Colours, and went about to rub out his own work. But Fortune directing his hand first to the Nostrils of the Horse, the Sponge did that by chance, which all his Art could not effect. So that what his own Shadows could not, Chance completed.

C H A P. XII.

That we must yield to the best Masters of Art.

As was done by the By STRANGERS.
ROMANS.

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| | 1. Euclid in Geometry. |
| 1. Furius and Cæsellius in | 2. Philo in Architecture. |
| the Prædicatorian Law. | 3. Apelles in Painting. |

NOW that we may not doubt but that every one is the best Actor and Discourser in his own Art, let us by a few Examples make it appear.

1. *Q. Sævola*, a most famous and most certain Interpreter of the Law, as often as he was consulted upon the Prædicatorian Statute, sent his Clients to *Furius* and *Cæsellius*, who studied that part. Whereby he rather commended his own Moderation, than lessen'd his authority; confessing that they were best able to give advice in that matter, whose daily practise it was. Therefore are they the wisest Professors of their Art, who have a modest esteem of their own, and a cunning respect for the Studies of others.

S T R A N G E R S.

1. This opinion lodg'd in the learned breast of *Plato*. Who when the Undertakers came to confer with him about the manner and form of the holy Tower, sent them to *Euclid* the Geometrician, giving way to his Knowledge and Profession.

2. *Athens* glories in its Arsenal, not without cause: For it is a work worthy to be seen for its cost and Elegance.

Elegance. The Architect whereof, *Philo*, is said to have given so eloquent an account in the Theater of his purpose, that the most eloquent of people were sway'd as much by his Eloquence, as by his Art.

3. Wonderfully was it done by that Artist, who suffered himself to be corrected by a Cobler, as to the Shoes and the Latchets: But when he began to talk of the Thigh, forbid him to go beyond the Foot.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Memorable Old Age.

IN ROMANS.

1. M. Valerius Corvus.
2. L. Metellus, *the High-Priest*.
3. Q. Fabius Maximus.
4. Perpenna *the Censor*.
5. Appius Claudius *the blind*.
6. *Women*, Livia, Terentia and Clodia.

Strangers.

1. Hiero *King of Sicily*,

Massanissa King of Numidia.

2. Gorgias Leontinus.
3. Xenophilus *of Chalcis*.
4. Argentinus *King of the Gaditans*.
5. *Æthiopians, Indians, and Epimenides the Cnossian*.
6. *The Epii, a people of Ætolia*.
7. Dantho, *and two Kings of the Lachnii*.

L Et Old Age, prolonged to the utmost, have a place in this work, among the Examples of Industry, but with a particular Title and Chapter. That we may not seem to have forgotten those, to whom the Gods were principally indulgent. Insisting upon which, every one may make himself more happy in respect

respect of his antient felicity ; and may affirm the happiness of our age, than which none was ever more happy, by prolonging the safety of a wise and great Prince, to the longest bounds of humane life.

1. *M. Valerius Corvus* liv'd out his hundredth year ; between whose first and sixth Consulship were forty six years compleat. Nor did his full strength of body not only not fail him, in the highest employments of the Commonwealth, but also for the manuring his Land : a desirable Example of a Commonwealths man, and a Master of a Family.

2. Which space of years *Metellus* equall'd : And the fourth year after his Consular Government, being created *Pontifex Maximus* when he was very old, he govern'd the Ceremonies of Religion two and twenty years, his tongue never tripping in pronouncing the Votes, nor his hand trembling in preparing the Sacrifices.

3. *Q. Fabius Maximus* threescore and two years held the Priesthood of the Augurship, having obtain'd it when he was a strong man. Which two times being added together, will easily compleat the age of an hundred years.

4. What shall I say of *M. Perpenna* ? Who outliv'd all those that he call'd over in the Senate, when he was Consul ; and only saw seven remaining of the Conscript Fathers, whom as Censor with *Lu. Philippus* he had chosen ; more durable than the greatest Order in the world.

5. I might conclude the life of *Appius* with his misfortune, because he lived long after he was blind ; but that he had five Sons and five Daughters, and a multitude of Clients in his Protection, and in that condition most stoutly govern'd the Commonwealth. At length weary with living, he caus'd himself to be carried into the Senate-house in a Litter, to hinder peace from

from being made with *Pyrrhus* upon dishonourable Conditions. Can this man be thought blinde, by whom his Countrey purely discerning that which was honourable, was compell'd to open its eyes?

6. Several Women have been no less eminent for long Life, whom it shall suffice only to name. For *Livia* the wife of *Rutilius* number'd fourscore and seven, *Terentia* the wife of *Cicero* a hundred and three, and *Clodia* the wife of *Aufilius*, having outlived fifteen Children, an hundred and fifteen years.

STRANGERS.

1. I will adde to these, two Kings, whose long life was very advantageous to the People of *Rome*. The King of *Sicily*, *Hiero*, numbred ninety years. *Massinissa* King of *Numidia*, reigning threescore years, was superiour to all men in vigour of age. *Cicero* in his Book of *Old Age*, reports of him, that no shower or cold could compel him to cover his head. He was wont also to keep his station for several hours, and would never stir from hard labour, till he had tired the young men: And if it were requisite for him to do any thing sitting, he would oft-times for a whole day sit in the same posture, without moving his body for ease, either one way or other. When he led his Army a Horseback by day, he never alighted that night; omitting none of those labours, which youth is wont to endure, when he was of that extream age. And so vigorous he was in reference to Women, that he begat his Son *Methymnatus*, when he was fourscore and six years of age. The Countrey also which he found untill'd, by perpetual culture he left very fruitful.

2. *Gorgias* also of *Leontium*, the Master of *Isocrates* and several other great men, by his own saying was

most happy. For when he had lived an hundred and seven years, being asked why he would live so long : *Because*, said he, *I ayle nothing to accuse my Old Age*. What could be longer or more happy than such a tract of Life? For being entered into the second Century of years, he neither found any cause of complaint in it, nor left any behinde him of it.

3. *Xenophilus* of *Chalcis* wanted two of his years, yet not inferiour in enjoyment of health. For as *Aristoxenus* the Musician saies of him, Free from all the inconveniencies of old Age, he died in the full splendour of consummate Learning.

4. *Arganthonius* the *Gaditane* reigned so long, as would have sufficed another to live. For he govern'd his Kingdom fourscore years, being forty years of age before he came to the Throne: For which there are most certain and credible Authors. *Asinius Polio*, not the least part of *Roman* Eloquence, in the third Book of his History, relates him to have lived an hundred and twenty years: No mean example of sinewy vigour.

5. The *Ethiopians* render the long life of this King less admirable; whom *Heredotus* writes to have exceeded an hundred and twenty years: and the *Indians*, of whom *Ctesias* delivers the same. And *Epi-
menides* the *Gnossian*, whom *Theopompus* reports to have lived an hundred fifty and seven years.

6. *Hellanicus* also avers, that certain of the *Epii*, who were a people of *Ætolia*, lived two hundred years; with whom *Damasthes* agrees, adding this moreover, that one *Litorius* among them, of an exceeding great strength and stature, compleated three hundred years.

7. *Alexander*, in his Volume of the *Illyrian* Tract, affirms, that one *Danbo* lived full out five hundred years, without the least complaint of Age. But
much

much more liberal is *Xenophon*, who gives to the King of the *Lachnii* eight hundred years of Life. And that his Father might not take it ill, he allows him six hundred.

C H A P. XIV.

*Of the Desire of Honour.**Among the Romans.*

S T R A N G E R S.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. P. Africanus <i>the Greater.</i> | 1. Themistocles <i>of Athens.</i> |
| 2. D. Brutus Gallaticus. | 2. Alexander <i>the Great.</i> |
| 3. Cn. Pompey <i>the Great.</i> | 3. Aristotle <i>the Stagyrite.</i> |
| 4. Sulla <i>the Happy.</i> | 4. Pausanias <i>of Macedon.</i> |
| 5. A certain Knight. | 5. Herostratus. |
| 6. C. Fabius Pictor. | |

HONOUR, whence it arises, or of whatsoever it may be the Habit, or how it ought to be purchas'd, and whether it may not be neglected by vertue, as unnecessary, let them take care that employ their Contemplations upon these things, and who are able eloquently to express what they have prudently observed. I in this work being content to finde out Authors for deeds, and deeds for Authors, shall endeavour to finde out by proper Examples, how great the desire of it is wont to be.

1. The Elder *Africanus* would have the Effigies of *Ennius* placed among the Monuments of the *Cornelian* Family, because he thought his Acts illustrated by his Wit. Not ignorant, that as long as the *Roman* Empire might flourish, and *Africa* lay captive at the feet of *Italy*, and that the *Capitol* possess'd the Pillar of

the whole World, their Remembrance could not be extinguished; especially enlightned by the Beams of Learning: A man more worthy of *Homer's*, than a rude and unpolish'd Eulogy.

2. The same was the honorable minde of *D. Brutus*, a famous Captain in his time, toward *Accius* the Poet: With whose familiar Courtship and acute applauses being mainly delighted, he adorn'd the Emberies of the Temples, which he had consecrated out of his Spoils, with his Verses.

3. Neither was *Pompey* averse from this affectation of Glory, who bestowed upon *Theophanes* the *Myrcenian*, a Writer of his Acts, a whole City, in a Harangue before the Souldiers. Prosecuting the Grandeur of his Gift, with an accurate and approved Oration.

4. *L. Sulla*, though he minded no Writer, yet he so vehemently assum'd to himself the honour of *Jugurth's* being brought to *Marius* by King *Bocchus*, that he wore that Delivery in his Seal-Ring. Afterwards how great an admirer of Honour, the slightest footstep whereof he ador'd!

5. And that I may adde to Generals the noble minde of a Souldier; When *Scipio* was dividing the Military gifts to those that had done bravely; *T. Labienus* putting him in minde of giving a Golden Bracelet to an eminent and stout Knight; which the General refusing to do, that the honour of the field might not be violated in him, who had serv'd but a little before, he gave the Knight Gold himself out of the *Gallie* plunder. Neither did *Scipio* put it up silently: For, said he to the Knight, *thou hast the Gift of a rich man*. Which when he had taken, casting the Gold at *Labienus* feet, he held down his Countenance. But when *Scipio* said to him, *The General gives thee Silver Bracelets*, he went away with a cheartul Countenance.

So that there is no Humility so great, which is not touched with a desire of Glory.

6. It is also sought sometimes out of the lowest things. For what meant *C. Fabius*, that most noble Commonwealths man? For when he painted the walls of the Temple of *Safety*, which *C. Junius Bubulcus* had consecrated, he inscribed his Name upon them. For that only Ornament was wanting to a Family most famous for Consulships, Priesthoods, and Triumphs. And though he stoop to a mercenary Art, yet he would not have his labours obliterated, how mean soever: they were following the example of *Phidias*, who included his own face upon the Shield of *Minerva*, in such manner, that if it were pull'd away, the whole work would be quite spoiled.

STRANGERS.

1. But better had he done to have imitated *Themistocles*, had he bin taken with forraign Examples; who is reported to have bin so prick'd with the sting of Honour, that he could not sleep a nights; and being ask'd, what he did abroad at that time of the night, made answer, *That he could not sleep for the Trophies of Miltiades*. For *Marathon* rous'd up his noble Minde to ennoble *Artemisium* and *Salamis* with Naval Glory. The same person going to the Theater, and being ask'd whose voice was most pleasing to his ears, made answer, *His that shall sing my acts the best and loudest*. He added as it were an honourable sweetness to Honour it self.

2. The Breast of *Alexander* was insatiable of Applause; who when *Anaxarchus* his Companion, by the authority of *Democritus*, affirm'd, that there were innumerable worlds; *How miserable then*, said he,

am I, that have not conquered one ! Man thought his Honour too much confin'd, that had not all that which suffices for the Habitation of the Gods.

3. I will adde the thirst of *Aristotle* after Honour, as great as that of a King and a young man. For he had given certain Books of Oratory to *Theodectes* his Disciple, to put forth in his own name : and being afterwards vex'd that he had let go the Title to another, insisting upon some things in his own Volume, he addes, that he had discoursed more plainly of them in the Books of *Theodectes*. Did not the Modesty of so great and so diffusive a Science withhold me, I would say, he was a Philosopher, whose great parts ought to have been delivered to a Philosopher of a nobler Soul. But Honour is not condemn'd by those that desire to introduce the Contempt of it. For to those very Volumes they diligently set their Names, that what they take away by Profession, they may attain by Usurpation of Memory. But this dissimulation of theirs, whatever it be, is more to be endur'd than the purpose of those, who while they labour for eternal Memories, strive to become famous by wickedness.

4. Among which I know not whether *Pausanias* may not be first mentioned ; for when he had ask'd *Hermocrates* how he might suddenly become famous, and that the other had answered, By killing some great person, presently went and slew *Philip*. And indeed what he coveted he had ; for he render'd himself as infamously famous for the Murther, as *Philip* was eminent for his Vertue to Posterity.

5. But this desire of Glory was sacrilegious. For there was one found out, who would set on fire the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, that by the destruction of that lovely Pile, his name might be known to the whole world. Which fury of his minde he discovered

red upon the Rack. Yet the *Ephesians* had taken care, by a Decree, to abolish the memory of the worst of men, had not the eloquent Wit of *Theopompus* comprehended the fact in his History.

CHAP. XV.

What Magnificent things befall to every one.

TO ROMANS.

1. P. Africanus the Greater.
2. M. Cato the Censor.
3. P. Scipio Nasica.
4. P. Scipio Æmilianus.
5. M. Valerius Corvus.
6. Q. Mutius Scævola.
7. C. Marius.
8. Cn. Pompey the Great.
9. Q. Lutatius Catulus.
10. Cato of Utica.

11. L. Marcius a Roman Knight.

12. Sulpitia Ser. daughter of Q. Flaccus.

STRANGERS.

1. Pythagoras Samian.
2. Gorgias the Leontine.
3. Amphiaraus the Prophet.
4. Pherenica a Grecian Woman.

WHat Magnificent things have deservedly befallen every one, being put to publick view, will afford delight to ingenious minds: because the value and force of the Rewards, and the contemplation of Honours, is equally to be considered. Nature affording us a kind of pleasure, when we see Honour industriously coveted, and gratefully repaid. But though the Minde is carried here immediately to a splendid House, the bountiful and most honoured Temple, it will be better restrain'd. For to him to whom the ascent to Heaven is free, though the greatest, yet they are

less than what are due, which are bestowed on Earth.

1. To *Scipio Africanus* the Consulship was granted long before his time. To whom what was assign'd him in his life-time, would be too long to relate, because they are many; and not necessary, as being in part already related. And therefore I will adde what is at this day eminent. He has an Image placed in Great *Jupiters* Temple, which when there is any Funeral of the *Cornelian* Family, is fetch'd from thence: So that to that onely Image is the Capitol like a Porch, or place where those Images are usually placed.

2. As truly as was the Senate-House it self to the Elder *Cato's* Image, from whence it is brought forth upon the same occasions of that Family. A Grateful Order, that would have so profitable a Member always dwell with them, wealthy in all the Gifts of Vertue, and great rather by his own Merit, than by the benefit of Fortune; by whose counsel *Carthage* was ruin'd, before it was laid waste by the Sword of *Scipio*.

3. A rare Example of Honour arises also from *Scipio Nasica*. For by his Hands, and into his House, before he was yet a Questor, the Senate by the command of *Pythian Apollo*, would have the Mother of the gods received and entertained, when recalled from *Pessinunt*. Because the same Oracle ordered those Offices to be done to the Mother of the gods by a most holy man. Unfold all the *Fasti*, set all the Triumphal Chariots together, and you shall finde nothing more splendid than such a preeminency in Manners.

4. The *Scipio's* often produce their Ornaments to be remembred by us. For *Æmilianus* was made a Consul by the People, when but a Candidate for the

Ædilship

Ædil-ship. Which the Army advised the Senate ought to be done. So that it is hard to know, whether the Authority of the Conscript Fathers, or the Counsel of the Souldiers added most Honour to him. For the Gown made *Scipio* Consul against the *Carthaginians*, but the Sword desired him. And again, when he went into the field to the Election of the Questors, to give his voice for *Q. Fabius*, the Son of *Maximus's* Brother, they brought him home a Consul. To the same person the Senate gave a Province without Lot, first *Africa*, then *Spain*. And these things neither to an ambitious Senator nor Citizen; as the most severe course of his Life, and his clandestine Death, being slain by treachery, declar'd.

5. As for *M. Valerius*, the Gods as well as his Fellow-Citizens made him famous for two things: The first by sending a Crow for his defence, when he fought hand to hand with the *Gaul*; the other giving him the Consulship at three and twenty years of Age. The *Valerian* Family assumes the name of *Corvinus*: The other is added as an Ornament, glorying as well in the earliness of the Consulship, as in the priority of being made so.

6. Nor was the Glory of *Q. Scaevola*, whom *L. Crassus* had for his Colleague, less illustrious, who obtain'd *Asia*, and so stoutly and so justly held it, that the Senate by their Decree propounded *Scaevola* as a President and Example for others, that were to go into the several Provinces of the Empire.

7. Those words of the Younger *Africanus* produced the seven Consulships and two Triumphs of *G. Marius*; for he was full of joy to his dying day: Who when he served on Horseback under that Captain, *Scipio* being asked at Supper, if any thing cross should befall him, whom the Commonwealth would have equally great with him; the General looking
upon

upon *Marius*, sitting a little below him, *Even this man*, answered he. By which Augury it cannot be well conjectured, whether the most perfect Virtue more certainly foresaw a Rising virtue, or whether he more efficaciously inflamed him to it. For that Military Supper portended to *Marius* the most splendid future Suppers in the whole City. For when the Messenger brought the News, at the beginning of the Night, that the *Cimbrians* were overthrown, there was no man that offer'd not at his Table, as it had been the Altar of the Immortal Gods.

8. Now what large and new Honours were heap'd upon *Pompey*, partly by the flattery of Favour, partly by the noise of Envy! Being a *Roman* Knight, he was sent Consul into *Spain*, with equal command to *Pius Metellus* Prince of the City. Before he had stood for any Honour, he triumph'd twice. The beginnings of Magistracy he took from the chief Command. The Third Consulship he sway'd alone, by the Decree of the Senate. He triumph'd at once over *Mithridates*, *Tigranes*, and several other Kings, Nations, Cities, and the Pirates.

9. *Catulus* also was, by the voice of the People of *Rome*, within a little advanc'd to the Stars. For being ask'd by him in the Common-hall, whether they persever'd to repose the whole management of all things in one *Pompey*, they cried out with one voice, *In thee*. The great force of a judgment of Reputation, which equall'd *Catulus*, included in the space of two Syllables, to the great *Pompey*, with all the Ornaments that I have related.

10. The reception of *M. Cato* returning out of *Cyprus*, with the Royal Money, may seem wonderful: To whom at his landing the Consuls, and other Magistrates, the Senate and all the People of *Rome* attended out of duty. Rejoycing not at the vast weight

weight of Gold and Silver, but for that *Cato* had brought back the Navy safe.

11. But I cannot tell whether the Example of the unusual Honour done to *L. Marcius* be not one of the chief; whom the two Armies upon the death of *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, torn and shattered by the Victory of *Hannibal*, chose him their General, when their safety was reduced to the last gasp, leaving no place for Ambition.

12. Deservedly *Sulpitia* deserves to be remembred after the Men, the Daughter of *Servius Paternulus*, and the Wife of *Fulvius Flaccus*: Who when the Senate, upon the Decemvirs inspection into the *Sibylls* Books, had decreed that the Image of *Venus* Turn-heart should be consecrated, whereby the minds of the women might be changed from Lust to Chastity; and that of all the Matrons an hundred, out of an hundred ten were chosen by Lot, to give judgment concerning the most chaste Women, she was preferr'd before all the rest.

STRANGERS.

1. But because Forraign Honours may be related without any diminution of our *Roman* Majesty, let us pass over to them. The Hearers of *Pythagoras* gave him so much Veneration, that they accompted it a Crime to question what they had received from him: And being asked the reason, they onely answered, that *He had said it*. A great Man, but no farther than his School hitherto. However, the same veneration was given him by Cities. The *Crotoniates* earnestly desired of him, that their Senate, which consisted of a Thousand People, might take advice of him. And that opulent City, so frequently venerating his House after his death, made it a Chappel to *Ceres*.

Ceres. And while that City flourished, a Goddess was worshipped in the remembrance of Man, and a Man in the remembrance of a Goddess.

2. *Gorgias of Leontium* so far excelled all persons of that Age in Learning, that at all Assemblies he was wont to ask, what subject they would hear him dispute upon; and for that reason all *Greece* set him up a Statue of massie Gold in the Temple of *Apollo*; when the rest, of his time, had only gilded Images.

3. The same Nation by consent strove to honour *Amphiarau*, by reducing the place where he was buried, into the form and state of a Temple, and ordering Oracles to be there taken. Whose Ashes possess the same Honour as the *Pythian Den*, *Dodona's Brazen Dove*, or the Fountain of *Hammon*.

4. Nor was that a vulgar Honour done to *Phere-nice*, to whom alone of all women it was permitted to be present at the sight of Wrestling, when she brought to the *Olympic Games* her Son *Euclea*, begot by *Olympionices*, while his Brothers having obtained the same Lawrels, sate by her sides.

LIB. IX.

CHAP. I.

Of Luxury and Lust.

Roman Examples.

1. C. Sergius Orata.
2. Clodius the Son of Æsopus the Tragedian.
3. Women opposers of the Oppian Law.
4. Cn. Domitius and L. Crassus Consuls.
5. Q. Metellus Pius.
6. C. Scribonius Son of Curius.
7. P. Clodius his judgment.
8. Gemellus a Tribunician

Traveller.

9. L. Catiline.

STRANGERS.

1. Hannibal Son of Amilcar.
2. Vullinians.
3. Xerxes the Persian King.
4. Antiochus the Syrian King.
5. Ptolomey King of Egypt.
6. The Egyptians.
7. The Cyprians.

LET Luxury, a flattering Crime, more easie to accuse than shun, be inserted into this Work of ours: Not to receive any Honour, but that coming to know her self, she may be compelled to Penitence. Let Lust be joyn'd with her, because it arises from the same Principles of Vice. Nor let them be separated from reprehension, or amendment, that are
tyed

tyed together by a double error of the Minde.

1. *C. Sergius Orata* was the first that made hanging Baths; which cost having but a slight beginning, extended it self almost to Seas of Hot-water.

The same person, because he would not have his Palace subject to the power of *Neptune*, invented peculiar Seas to himself, and separated shoals of divers sorts of Fish within the large circuits of vast Moles, to the end no Tempest whatever should deprive his Table of his desired Dainties. He also burnd the (till then) desert Banks of the Lake *Lucrinus* with stately and high Buildings, that he might keep his Shell-fish fresh. Where while he plunges himself too deep into the publick Water, he was hurried to the Judgment-Seat by *Confidius* the Publican. Where *L. Crassus*, pleading against him, said, *That his friend Confidius err'd, if he thought that Orata, being removed from the Lake, would want Oysters: for if he could not have them there, he would finde them upon the Tiles.*

2. To this man *Æsopus* the Tragedian ought rather to have given his Son in Adoption, than to have left him the Heir of his Goods; a young man not only of a desperate, but a most furious Luxury. Of whom it is reported, that he gave vast prices for Birds that could sing or talk, to have them served up at his Table instead of *Fig-peckers*; and that he used to put Pearls of high value, dissolv'd in Vinegar, into his drinks; as if he had strain'd to throw away a most famous Patrimony, like some burthen too heavy for his shoulders. Since, some in imitation of the Father, others of the Son, have extended their hands farther. For no Vice ends where it begins. This it is that fetches out Fish from the various shoares of the Sea, and spreads our Kitchens with Oysters. For the pleasure of eating and drinking was found out by Art and Cost.

3. But

3. But the end of the second *Punic* War, and the overcoming of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, made us with more confidence addict our selves to *Luxury*. At what time the *Matrons* were so bold as to beset the House of the *Brutii*, who by the abrogation of the *Oppian* Law, were prepar'd to intercede for that which the women desir'd should be taken away; because it did not permit them to wear a coloured Garment, nor to have about them above half an Ounce of Gold, nor to ride in a Chariot to any place within a Mile from the City, unless it were to the Sacrifices: and they obtain'd, that the Law kept for above twenty years, should be abolished. For the men of that Age did not foresee whither the obstinate Plots of Women would tend, nor how far a boldness that had vanquish'd the Law would tend. For could they have look'd into the contrivances of female cunning, that brings in something of sumptuous Novelty every day, they had stopped the progress of *Luxury* at its first entrance.

4. But what do I talk any more of Women? whom weakness of Minde, and the affectation of greater employments denied them, incites them to bestow all their time in trimming up themselves, when I finde Men fallen into this divertisement, unknown to the antient Continence? And let it appear to their reproach.

Cneus Domitius, upon a quarrel with *L. Crassus* his Colleague, objected to him, that he had *Hymettian* Pillars in his House. Whom *Crassus* immediately ask'd, what he valued his own House at? When he answer'd, *Threescore Sesterces*. And how much, think you, said the other, if I should cut ten little shrubs out of it? *Thirty Sesterces*, said the other. Which then is the most Luxurious of the two, replied *Crassus*, I that bought ten Pillars for an hundred thousand pieces of

Money; or thou, that valuest the shadow of ten small Trees at thirty Sesterces? An expression forgetful of *Pyrrhus*, unmindful of *Hannibal*, and yawning with the abundance of Foreign Luxury; because they had rather bequeath the Daintiness and curiosity which they themselves had begun, to their Posterity, than retain the Continence which their Fore-fathers had left them.

5. For what meant that Prince of his time, *Metellus Pius*, when he suffer'd himself to be received at his first coming, with Altars and Frankincense? When he beheld the walls of the Rooms spread with *Attalican* Tapestry, as a sight that pleased him? When he permitted long Plays at tedious Festivals? When he wore his Triumphal Garment at the celebration of great Banquets, and contentedly received Crowns let down from open places, as it were from Heaven, upon his celestial Head? And where were these things? Not in *Greece* or *Asia*, where Severity itself might be corrupted with Luxury; but in a wild and warlike Province, when a formidable Enemy, *Sertorius*, would not let the *Roman* Armies lie quiet, but goar'd them continually with the *Lusitanian* Darts. So much had he forgot the *Numidian* Camp of his father. Whence it appears how swiftly Luxury insinuates it self. For he that in his Youth beheld the ancient Customes, in his old Age introduced new.

6. The same change was in the House of the *Curii*; while our City and Judgment-Seat beheld the rigid Brow of the Father, and the high Debt of six hundred Sesterces of the Son, contracted by the ignominious Injury done to the Noble Youth of *Rome*. Therefore at the same Time, and under the same Roof, two several Ages lived; the one of Frugality, the other of vicious Prodigality.

7. By the Sentence against *P. Clodius*, what strange
Luxury

Luxury appeared in him, what a savage Lust? Who, though guilty of Incest, that he might be acquitted, bought whole nights of the Matrons and noble Youth, at vast rates, to pleasure his Judges withal. In which horrid and abominable Crime, I know not which first to detest; whether him that first invented that way of Corruption; or they that suffer'd their Chastity to mediate to Perjury; or they that valued Adultery beyond Justice.

8. Equally abominable was that Banquet, which *Gemellus* a *Tribunitian* Traveller, of good Parents, but one that had betaken himself to a Servile employment, prepar'd for *Metellus Scipio* Consul, and the Tribunes of the People, to the great scandal of the City. For having set up a Stew in his own House, he prostituted therein *Mucia* and *Fulvia*, both taken away from Father and Mother, and *Saturninus* a Youth of a Noble Family. Bodies of infamous suffering, brought to be the scorn of drunken Lust! Banquets not to be celebrated by Consuls and Tribunes, but to have been punish'd.

9. But enormous was the Lust of *Catiline*: For being mad in love with *Aurelia Orestilla*, when he saw one Impediment to hinder him from being married to her, poyson'd his own and only Son, almost of age; and presently kindled the Nuptial Torch at his Funeral-Pile, bequeathing his want of Children as a gift to his new Bride. But behaving himself at length with the same minde as a Citizen, as he had shewed himself a Father, he fell a just Sacrifice to the Ghost of his Son, and his impiously-invaded Country.

STRANGERS.

1. But the *Campanian* Luxury, how profitable was it to our Country? For embracing invincible *Han-*

nibal in the arms of her Allurements, she fitted him to be vanquished by the *Roman* Souldiers. She called forth a vigilant Captain, she invited a courageous Army to long Banquets, and with plenty of Wine, the fragrantcy of Oyntments, and the lascivious softness of Venery, inveigld them to Sleep and Pleasure. And then was the *Punie* fierceness broken, when it lay encamped among the Perfumers of *Capua*. What then more ignominious than these Vices, what more hurtful; by which Vertue is worn out, Victories languish, Honour stupified is turn'd to Infamy, and the vigour of Body and Minde quite weakned and broken? So that it is hard to say which is worst, to be subdued by them, or by the Enemy.

2. Which infested the City of the *Volstinians* with sad and direful slaughters. It was rich, it was adorn'd with Customes and Laws: it was the Head and Metropolis of *Hetruria*. But when once Luxury crept in, it fell into an Abyſs of Injuries and Infamy, till she became subjected to the insolent power of her Servants. Who at first in a small number daring to enter the Senate-House, in a short time overturn'd and master'd the whole Commonwealth. They order'd Wills to be made at their own pleasure. They forbade the Meetings and Feastings of the Free-man, and married their Masters Daughters. Lastly, they made a Law, that their Adulteries committed with Widows and Married-women should go unpunished; and that no Virgin should marry a Freeman, unless some of them before had had her Virginity.

3. *Xerxes*, out of the proud imitation of his vast wealth, grew to that height of Luxury, that he propounded Rewards to them that should invent any new Pleasure. What a ruine beset a most wide Empire, too deeply plunged in Pleasure and Voluptuousness!

4. *Antiochus* the King not a whit the more content;

ment ; whose blinde and mad Luxury the Army imitating, had most of them Golden Nails under the soles of their Shoes ; and bought Silver Dishes for their Kitchens ; and had their Tents of Tapestry-work adorn'd with Gold and Silver. A booty more desirable by a needy Enemy, than any delay to a stout Souldier from Victory.

5. *Ptolomey* the King liv'd by the accession of his Vices, and was therefore call'd *Physon* : Than whose Wickedness there could be nothing more wicked. He married his eldest Sister, married before to their common Brother ; then having vitiated her Daughter, he divorced the Sister, that he might marry the Daughter.

6. Like to their Kings were the People of *Egypt*, who under the command of *Archelaus*, sallying out of their City against *A. Gabinus*, when they were commanded to entrench themselves, cry'd out, *That that was a work to be done at the publick Charge.* And therefore their Courages, weakned with the softness of Pleasures, could not stand the fury of our Army.

7. But more effeminate were the *Cyprians*, who suffer'd their Women to lye upon the ground, for their Queens to tread upon, when they ascended into their Chariots. For for men, if men they were, it had been better not have lived at all, than to live obedient to such a soft Command.

C H A P. II.

Of Cruelty.

In ROMANS.

1. Cor. Sylla Dictator.
2. C. Marius seven times Consul.
3. L. Junius Damasippus.
4. Munatius Flac^c us.
5. Hannibal.
6. Mithridates.
7. Numulizinthes King of Thrace.
8. Ptolomey Physcon.
9. Darius Ochus.
10. Artaxerxes Ochus.
11. The Athenians.
12. Perillus of Sicily.
13. Hetrurians.
14. Certain Barbarians.

STRANGERS.

1. Carthaginians.

THis last Society of men carried a lascivious Countenance, Eyes greedy after Novelty of delight, and a Minde transported through all the allurements of Pleasure. But the horrid habit of Cruelty is of another nature; savage Countenance, violent Minds, terrible Utterance, Mouths full of Threats and bloody Commands; to which being silent, is but to increase its fury. For how shall she set bounds to her self, unless she were recall'd by the bridle of reprehension? In short, since it is her business to make herself dreaded, let it be ours, to have her in abomination.

1. L. Sylla, whom no man can either sufficiently praise or dispraise; who while he seeks after Victory, represents himself a Scipio to the Roman People; while he exercises Cruelty, a meer Hannibal. For having egregiously defended the cause of the Nobility, cruelly he overflow'd the whole City, and every part

of

of *Italy*, with rivers of Civil Blood. Four Legions of the adverse party, trusting to his Faith, and following his Banners, in a publick Village, in vain imploring the compassion of his faithless arm, he caused to be cut in pieces. Whose lamentable cries pierc'd the ears of the trembling City: and *Tibur* was compelled to waſt away their memberleſs Bodies, impatient of ſo heavy a burthen. Five thouſand *Præneſtines*, hope of ſafety being granted them by *Cethegus*, being call'd forth without the Walls of the Free-town, after they had thrown away their Armes, and lay proſtrate upon the ground, he cauſ'd to be ſlain, and their Bodies to be thrown about the fields. He cauſed a Record to be made of four thouſand ſeven hundred murder'd upon the dire decree of Proſcription. Nor content to rage againſt them who had born Armes againſt him, he added alſo to the number of the proſcribed, ſeveral peaceable Citizens, whoſe names he collected by the *Nomenclator*: He alſo drew his Sword againſt the Women, not ſatiſf'd with the ſlaughter of the men. That was alſo a ſigne of incredible Inſatiety, that he cauſed the Heads of the miſerable creatures, newly cut off, and as yet retaining their Phyſiognomies and Breath, to be brought into his preſence, that what he could not devour with his teeth, he might with his eyes. How cruelly did he carry himſelf toward *M. Marius* the Prætor, who being dragg'd in the ſight of the people to the Sepulcher of the *Lutatian* Family, he would not put him to death, till he had digg'd out his eyes, and broken the ſeveral members of that unfortunate perſon. Methinks I hardly ſeem to relate Truths. And yet becauſe *M. Platorius* fell into a Swoon upon the Execution of *Marius*, he preſently ſlew him. A new Punisher of Pitié, with whom to behold wickedneſs with an averſe minde, was to commit a Crime. But ſure he

par'd the shades of the Dead? No. For digging up the ashes of *C. Marius*, whose *Quæstor* once he was, though afterwards his Enemy, he scatter'd them upon the river *Anio*. Behold by what acts he thought to obtain the name of *Happy*!

2. Of which Cruelty however *C. Marius* mitigates the envy. For he out of an eager desire of prosecuting his Enemies, wickedly unsheath'd his Anger; with an ignoble Severity dismembring the honoured Body of *L. Cesar* of the Consular and Censor's Dignity; and at the Sepulcher of a most abject and seditious person: For that mischief was wanting to the miserable Republique, That *Cesar* should fall a Victim to *Varius*. Hardly were his Victories of equal value; which when he forgot, he became more criminal at home, than praise-worthy for his Victories abroad. The same person, when the Head of *M. Anthony*, cut off, was brought him, betray'd much insolence both of thought and words, as he held it in his joyful hands, in the midst of a Banquet, suffering the Sacred's of the Table to be contaminated with the Blood of a most famous Commonwealth's man and Orator. More than that, he received *P. Annius*, that brought it, reaking with the fresh blood, into his Bosome.

3. *Damasippus* had no praise; and therefore his memory may be the more severely prosecuted: by whose commands the Heads of the principal Men of the City were mingled with the heads of the Sacrifices; and the headless Body of *Carbo Arvina* carried about, nail'd to the Gallows. So that the Pretorship of a most licentious man could do much, or the Authority of the Commonwealth nothing.

4. *Munatius Flaccus*, a more stiff than approved defender of *Pompey's* party, when he was besieged by *Cesar* in *Spain*, within the walls of *Attegua*, he

exerc-

exercis'd his savage Cruelty after a most truculent manner. For after he had kill'd all the Citizens which he thought well affected to *Cæsar*, he threw them headlong from the Walls. He also murder'd the Women, calling their Husbands first that were in *Cæsar's* Camp to the walls, to the end they might behold the slaughter of their Wives. Nor did he spare the Children laid upon their Mothers laps; suffering the tender Infants to be some dash'd against the stones, others to be thrown up and to fall upon the stakes. Which things, intolerable to be heard, were executed by *Lusitanians*, at the command of a *Roman*; by whose assistance, *Flaccus* well fortified, withstood the divine Labours of *Cæsar*, with a doting obstinacy.

STRANGERS.

1. Let us pass to those, for which though there be the same grief, yet there is not the same reason for our City to bluth. The *Carthaginians* put *Attilius Regulus* to death after a doleful manner. For having cut off his Eye-brows, and shut him up in a little wooden case, wherein there was nothing but sharp nails, they suffer'd him to linger with continual watching, and in a long series of pain. A kind of Torment not worthy him that suffer'd, but becoming the Authors of it. The same Cruelty they used toward our Souldiers, whom being taken in a Sea-fight, they fasten'd under the bottom of their Ships, that being crush'd to death by the weight of the Keel, they might satiate their barbarous ferity, by an unusual kinde of death.

2. Their Captain *Hannibal*, whose chiefest Vertue consisted in Cruelty, made a Bridge over the River *Vergellus* with the bodies of the *Romans*, and so led

over his Army, that the Earth might experiment the wickedness of the *Carthaginian* Land-forces, as the Sea had beheld the barbarity of their Mariners. Those whom he had taken prisoners, picking out the nearest of Kin that he could, he compell'd to fight by pairs, till he made them destroy one another. Those that were tir'd he left upon the Road, with the lower part of their Feet cut off. Deservedly therefore, though too slow the punishment were, the Senate forced him, when a Suppliant to King *Prusias*, to a voluntary Death.

3. As truly had they reason to abominate *Mubri-dates*, who with one Epistle slew fourscore thousand *Roman* Citizens, dispers'd over *Asia* as Merchants, defiling the hospitable Gods of so large a Province, with blood unjustly shed, though not unrevenge'd. For which intolerable torment, at length he compell'd that Vital Spirit to submit, that contended with the poyson. Thereby attaining those torments, which he had made his own friends to suffer at the beck of *Gaurus* his Eunuch, to whom his obedient Lust could deny nothing.

4. *Numulizintbis Diogiris* the King of *Thrace's* Daughters Cruelty, though not so much to be admir'd, considering the Barbarity of the Nation, yet the horridness will not let it be pass'd in silence: who held it not unlawful to cut living men in two in the middle, or for Parents to feed upon the bodies of their Children.

5. Again *Ptolomey Physcon* comes upon the stage; a little before, a most dreadful Example of sinful Madnes, now of Cruelty. For what more horrid than this? He caus'd his own Son *Menephites*, whom he had got upon *Cleopatra* his Sister and Wife, a lovely and hopeful Youth, to be kill'd in his presence; and sent the Head, Feet and Hands cut off, and put into

a Chest, cover'd over with the Child's Garment, as a Birth-day Gift to the Mother. As it altogether ignorant of the mischief he had done, and never the more unfortunate, for having render'd *Cleopatra* miserable in the loss of Children common to both, and himself odious to all. With so blinde a fury doth the height of Cruelty rage, when she thinks to strengthen herself by her own acts! For when he understood how he was hated by his people, he sought a remedy for his fear in wickedness; and that he might reign more safely when the people were murder'd, he surrounded the *Gymnasium*, full of young people, with fire and sword, and slew, partly by the flame, and partly by sword, every individual person of the whole multitude.

6. But *Ochus*, who was afterwards call'd *Darius*, bound to the *Persians* by a most bloody Oath, that he should not put to Death either by Sword, Poyson, Starving, or any other manner of violence, any of those that had conspir'd with him against the Seven *Magi*, found out a way of Death, by which means he might rid himself of those persons that were burthensome to him, and yet save his Oath. For he fill'd a place, made up with high walls, full of Ashes, and putting a leaning rafter underneath, he placed them in it, after he had highly feasted them; so that when sleep should seize them, they might fall into that insidiary heap.

7. More open, but more horrid, was the Cruelty of *Ochus Artaxerxes*, who buried his Sister and Mother-in-Law *Ocha* alive: and stab'd his Uncle to Death with Darts, after he had deprived him of an hundred Sons and Nephews; for not the least injury done him, but because they had the highest applause among the *Persians* for Probity and Fortitude.

8. Guided by the same wicked Suspicion, the *Cris-*

TENS

zens of *Athens*, by a Decree unworthy their Honour, cut off the Thumbs of the *Aeginensian* Youth, that a People potent in Shipping, might not be able to contend with them at Sea. I cannot pardon the *Abenians*, borrowing a remedy for their fear from Cruelty.

9. Cruel also was that Inventor of the Brazen Bull, wherein when poor Creatures were lock'd, and fire put under it, they seem'd in the midst of their long and tedious torments to low like the beast, that their lamentations and howlings express'd in Humane Sounds, might not reach the ears of *Phalaris* the Tyrant, to move his compassion. Which because he would be wanting to the miserable, the first Authour deservedly experimented the torment of his own Invention.

10. Nor were the *Hetrurians* a little cruel in the Invention of Punishment, who tying the bodies of the living back to back, and face to face together, so that part might answer part, suffer'd them to lye till they were putrified to Death. Most bitter Tormenters of Life and Death at once.

11. Like those Barbarians, who are reported to set men in heaps of the Bowels and Entrails of kill'd beasts, and there to feed and keep them alive, till being putrified within, they might be eaten up by the Vermine that breed in putrified bodies. Can we complain of Nature, for having made us lyable to many and dire inconveniencies of Sickness; or take it ill, that Celestial Strength should be denied to humane condition, when Mortality hath invented so many Torments to ruine it self by the impulse of Cruelty?

CHAP. III.

Of Anger and Hatred.

1. M. Livius Salinator.

2. C. Marcius Figulus a FORRAIGNERS.
*Lawyer.*3. *Patricians.*4. *Roman Youth.*5. *Roman Army.*6. *Roman People.*7. Q. Metellus Proconsul
of Macedon.

8. L. Cor. Sylla.

1. *Alexander the Great.*2. Amilcar Son of Barchas
the Carthaginian.3. Annibal Son of Barchas
the Carthaginian.4. Semiramis Queen of
Assyria.

Anger and Hatred stir up great Commotions in the breasts of Men. This swifter in its motion, the other more obstinate in the desire of Mischief. Both affections full of Consternation, and never without the violent torment of themselves: For it suffers pain to inflict misery; anxious with a bitter care, lest revenge should happen to miss. But there are most certain images of their propriety, which the gods would have conspicuous in great men, by some more than ordinary Act or Saying.

1. When *Livius Salinator*, waging war with *Asdrubal*, was about to leave the City, being admonish'd by *Fabius Maximus* that he should not fight before he understood the courage and force of the Enemy, made answer, that *He would not refuse the first opportunity of fighting*: And being ask'd by the same person, why he would needs be so hasty; *That as soon as may be*, said he, *I may either win honour by the overthrow of the*
Enemy,

Enemy, or rejoyce in the ruine of my Fellow-Citizens. Anger and Vertue divided his speech between them. The one remembring an unjust rebuke, the other intent upon the honour of Triumph. But I cannot tell whether it were the same thing to say this, and to overcome in the same manner.

2. Thus far Passion carried a man of a fierce Soul and accustom'd to War. But *C. Figulus* a most milde man, famous for his learning in the Civil Law, was thereby render'd forgetful both of Prudence and Moderation. For being provok'd by being repuls'd from the Consulship, so much the rather, because it had been twice given his Father; when many came to him the next day for counsel, turn'd 'em all out a doors: *Are ye ready at asking Counsel*, said he, *and know not how to make a Consul?* Smartly and deservedly spoken: Yet it had been better not spoken. For what wise man could be angry with the People of Rome?

3. Nor are they to be approved, though protected by the splendour of their Nobility, who being offended because that *Cn. Flavius*, a man of mean extract, was made Prætor, took off their Gold Rings and Trappings from their Horses, and threw them away; shewing the impotency, not the strife of vexation.

4. These were the motions of Anger in single or but few persons against a Commonwealth: There are also the same in the Multitude against the Princes and Captains. *Manlius Torquatus* returning after a most renowned and compleat Victory over the *Latins* and *Campanians*, when all the Old-people went forth to meet him, the Youth never stirr'd; because he had put his Son to death, for fighting successfully against the Enemy. His equals compassionated his too severe punishment. Nor do I defend the Act, but onely shew the force of Anger, that could divide the

Ages and Affections of a whole City.

5. So much could it prevail, that it detain'd and kept back all the foot of the *Roman* People, sent by *Fabius*, the Consul to pursue the Enemy, when they might easily have ruin'd and cut them off, when they call'd to minde that he had put a stop to the *Agrarian* Law. The same passion rendring the Army offended with *Appius* their Captain useles, (whose Father standing for the Nobility, oppos'd the conveniences of the Commonalty) by a voluntary flight they turn'd their back to the Enemy, because they would not suffer their Captain to triumph. How often the vanquisher of Victory? despising its congratulation in *Torquatus*; in *Fabius*, omitting the greatest part; in *Appius*, preferring shameful flight before it.

6. How violently it carried it self in the breast of the *Roman* People, at that time when the Dedication of the Temple of *Mercury* was granted to *M. Platorius*, a Centurion, by their Suffrages! The Consuls being also terrified; *Claudius*, because he withstood the relief of his Debts; and *Servilius*, because he had but weakly defended their cause which he undertook. Can Anger be denied to be of force, when it sets the Souldier above the General?

7. It hath not only pull'd down Authority, but commanded as disorderly. For when *Q. Metellus*, first as Consul, then for the Consul, had subdued almost all *Spain*, and understood that *Pompey* the Consul, his enemy, would be sent to succeed him; he dismissed all that pretended to be acquitted from service; gave licence to the Souldiers to go take their pleasure, never setting any time for their coming again. He left the Magazines upon the Borders free to the plunder of the Enemy: He ordered the *Cretans* Bows and Arrows to be broken and thrown into the River: He forbid any Victuals to be given to the Elephants. By which acts

as he gratified his Passion, so he sufficiently sullied the glory of his great Deeds : and lost the honour he had won, being a greater Vanquisher of the Enemy, than of his own Passion.

8. What became of *Sylla*, too obedient to this Vice ! After he had shed the blood of others, did he not shed his own ? For burning with indignation at *Puteoli*, because that *Granius* Prince of the Colony did not pay in so quickly the Money to the *Decurio's*, which he had promis'd for the repair of the *Capitol*, with a concitation of minde more than ordinary, and an immoderate force of speaking, he vomited up his last breath, mixed with blood and threats. Not failing by old Age, as not being above threescore ; but raging with an Impotency, nourished by the miseries of the Commonwealth. So that it is a doubt whether *Sylla* or *Sylla's* Anger were first extinguished.

FORRAIGNERS.

Now it behoves us to fetch Examples from unknown persons ; yet there is something of shame in reproaching the Vices of great men. But since the faith of our designe admonishes us to comprehend every thing, the Will must give way to the Work ; that the Conscience of declaring necessary things may not be wanting, while we justify the proof of great things.

1. *Alexander* was kept from Heav'n by his own Anger. For what hinder'd but that he might have risen thither, had not *Lyfimachus* thrown to a Lion, *Elytus* run through with a Spear, *Callisthenes* put to death, lost him the fame of three of his greatest Victories, by the unjust slaughter of so many friends.

2. How excessive the Hatred of *Amilear* toward the *Roman* People ! For beholding four Sons of tender Age

Age, and the same number of Lions whelps ; *He bred them, he said, to the ruine of our Empire.* Fairly brought up, as it hapned, to the ruine of their own Country.

3. Of which Sons *Hannibal* so followed his Fathers steps, that when he was about to cross the Army over into *Spain*, and sacrificing for good success, the Son then but nine years of age, holding his hand upon the Altar, swore, that assoon as his Age would permit him, he would be a most bitter Enemy to the *Romans* ; that he might expresse to his father how willingly he accompanied him in the War then afoot. The same person, that he might shew the Hatred between *Rome* and *Carthage*, happening to stumble, and raise the dust with his foot, *Then, said he, there will be an end of the War between these two Cities, when one of them is reduced into dust as this is.*

4. In the breast of a Boy the Force of Hatred was not so prevalent, but that it equally prevailed in a Womans breast. For *Semiramis* Queen of the *Assyrians*, when it was related to her, as she was combing her hair, that *Babylon* was revolted, with one part of her hair loose and dishevell'd, she hasted to its recovery ; nor would she bring her hair, till she had reduced the City, into order. And therefore her Statue is placed in *Babylon*, in the same posture as she hasten'd to her Revenge.

CHAP. IV.

Of Covetousness.

ROMANS.

FORRAIGNERS.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. M. Crassus and Q. Hortensius. | 1. Ptolomey King of Cyprus. |
| 2. Q. Cassius Longinus. | |
| 3. L. Septimulcius. | |

LET Avarice be brought forth that lurks in hidden places, but a devourer of open prey; unhappy in enjoyment, but most through Insatiability.

1. When certain persons had suborn'd a false testimony against *Minucius Basilus* in Greece, who was very rich, to confirm it, they put into his Will, as Heirs, two of the most potent men of our City, *M. Crassus* and *Q. Hortensius*, to whom *Minutius* was altogether unknown. Though the fraud were evident yet both covetous after the Estate, neither refus'd the gift of a Foreign Crime. How great an offence have I slightly related! The Lights of the Court, and Ornaments of the Seat of Judicature, what they ought to have punish'd, invited by the bait of dishonest gain, they protect'd by their Authority.

2. But it was of greater force in *Q. Cassius*, who let go *M. Silius* and *A. Calpurnius*, being apprehended in Spain with daggers, on purpose to have kill'd him; having agreed with the one for fifty, with the other for sixty Sesterces. It may be a question, whether if they had given him as much more, he would not have offer'd them his throat also.

3. But

3. But above all, the Avarice of *L. Septimuleius* was most notorious: Who being a familiar Friend of *Gracchus*, not only cut off his Head, but carried it fix'd upon a pole through the City; because *Opimius*, the Consul, had promis'd a reward in Gold to him that should do it. Some report, that he filled the hollow part of his Skull with melted Lead, that it might be the heavier. Whether he were seditious, or died for a good Example, yet the wicked hunger of his friend should not have bin so greedy after such injuries to the dead.

F O R R E I G N E R S.

1. The Covetousness of *Septimuleius* deserved hatred, but the Avarice of *Ptolomey* King of the *Cyprians* is to be laugh'd at. For having by mean devices scrap'd together great Riches, and saw that he was like to perish for their sake; and for that reason having shipped all his Wealth, was got out to Sea, that by bulging the Vessels he might perish at his own leisure, and frustrate his Enemies hopes, could not endure the sinking of his Gold and Silver, but carried back the future reward of his own Death. Surely he did not possess, but was possess'd by Wealth, being in his mind a miserable slave to Money.

CHAP. V.

Of Pride and excess of Power.

ROMANS.

FORREIGNERS.

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| 1. M. Fulvius Flaccus <i>Cof.</i> | 1. Alexander <i>the Great.</i> |
| 2. M. Livius Drusus <i>Tribune of the People.</i> | 2. Xerxes <i>King of Persia.</i> |
| 3. C. Pompey <i>the Great, three times Consul.</i> | 3. Hannibal <i>the Carthaginian.</i> |
| 4. M. Antonie <i>Triumvir.</i> | 4. <i>The Carthaginian and Campanian Senate.</i> |

1. **N**OW that Pride and Excess in Power may be brought upon the Stage, *Fulvius Flaccus* Consul, Colleague with *M. Plantius Hypsæus*, being about to make Laws very pernicious to the Commonwealth, of making free Citizens of *Rome*, and citing such before the People, who would not change their City, could hardly be perswaded to come into Court. Then when the Senate partly admonish'd him, partly besought him to desist, he gave them no answer. He might be accounted a Tyrannical Consul, who had thus carried himself against one Senator, as *Flaccus* did against the whole Body of so Majestick an Assembly.

2. Whose Majesty was no less affronted by the contumely of *M. Drusus*, a Tribune of the People, who made nothing, because *Philip* the Consul interrupted him in his Speech, to take him by the throat and to hale him to Prison, not by the hands of an Officer, but of a Client; with that violence, that the Blood gush'd out of his Mouth. Also when the Senate

nate sent to him to come into Court ; *Rather*, said he, *why doth not the Senate come to the Hostilia to me ?* I am ashamed to adde the rest : The Tribune despis'd the Authority of the Senate ; the Senate obey'd the Tribunes words.

3. How insolently *Pompey* ! who coming out of the Bath left *Hypseus* prostrate at his feet, accused of bribing for Voices, a Nobleman and his Friend ; upbraiding him withal with a contumelious Scoff, telling him, that he came to spoil his Supper. Yet he was not ashamed to require *Scipio*, his Sons Father-in-law, condemned by certain Laws which he had made himself, to the ruine of many Noblemen ; governing the Commonwealth according to the careles of his Nuptial Bed.

4. Vile was the Scoff of *M. Antonie* both in word and deed. For when the Head of *Cæsius Rufus*, a Senator, was brought him, being a Triumvir, the rest turning aside, he caus'd it to be brought near, and diligently viewed it. And when all the standers by listned to hear what he would say ; *This fellow*, saies he, *I never knew*. A haughty scorn of a Senator, but the excess of pride toward a man slain.

FORREIGNERS.

1. Enough of our own, now for Forreigners. The Vertue and Felicity of *Alexander* the Great was eclips'd by three most evident degrees of Insolence. For, concerning his Father *Philip*, he acknowledged none but *Jupiter Ammon* for his Father : Laying aside the Customes and Manners of the *Macedonians*, he assumed the Garments and Laws of the *Persians* : despising Mortals, he emulated to be a God. Nor was he ashamed to deny himself to be a Son, a fellow-Countryman, and a Mortal.

Ec 2

2. *Hermes*,

2. *Xerxes*, in whose name Pride and Impotency inhabit, how insolently did he use his own power, when being to proclaim War against the *Grecians*, and calling the Princes of *Asia* together; *That I might not seem*, said he, *to take my own advice, I have assembled you: But remember, that it is your part rather to obey than to give Counsel.* Arrogantly said, had he return'd a Victor to his Countrey: But so shamefully beaten, I know not whether more insolently or arrogantly.

3. *Hannibal*, puffed up with the success of the Battle of *Cannæ*, neither admitted any of his Countrymen into his Tents, nor gave answer to any but by an Interpreter, and despis'd *Maharbal*, affirming with a loud voice before his Tent, that he saw a way how he might sup in a few days in the Capitol. So unusual a thing it is for Happiness and Moderation to lodge together.

4. There was a kind of emulation between the *Carthaginian* and *Campanian* Senate for Insolencie. For the one wash'd in a Bath apart from the Vulgar; the other made use of a different Judgment-Seat. Which Custome retain'd in *Capua*, is evident in an Epistle of *C. Gracchus* written to *Plautius*.

CHAP. VI.

Of Perfidiousness.

ROMANS.

1. T. Tatius King of the Sabines.
2. Ser. Sulpitius Galba.
3. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.

4. Q. Servilius Cæpio, Cos.

FORREIGNERS.

1. The Carthaginians.
2. Hannibal the Carthaginian.

L Et Perfidiousness, a close and crafty Mischief, be fetch'd out of its lurking holes. Whose most efficacious properties are to lye and deceive: the fruit it reaps from some crime committed: then certain when it holds Cruelty in bonds; bringing as much mischief to Mankind, as Faith and Truth afford quiet and safety. Therefore let it be as much dispraised, as the other praised.

2. In the reign of *Romulus, Sp. Tarpeius* was Governor of the Tower, whose Daughter, a Virgin, going to fetch Water for the Ceremonies, without the Walls, *Tatius* corrupted with Money to let in his armed *Sabines* into the Castle, promising as a Reward what they wore upon their left hands; which were Bracelets and Rings of Gold of a considerable weight. The *Sabines* having got into the place, when the Virgin demanded her reward, they killed her with the weight of their Armes; As it were performing their promise, in regard they also carried their Armes on their left hand. Let there be no blame, while impious Treason was reveng'd with a quick Punishment.

2. *Servius Galba* was a man highly perfidious. For having assembled together the people of several Cities of *Portugal*, upon pretence of treating for their good, he partly kill'd and partly sold seven thousand of them, among which were the flower of their Youth, after he had pickt them out and disarmed them. Thus the greatness of his Crime exceeded the Calamity of the Barbarians.

3. Too great a desire of Glory made *Cn. Domitius*, a person of Noble Extraction and Merit, to become perfidious. For being offended at *Besultus*, King of the *Arverni*, for that he had perswaded both his own people and the *Allobroges*, while he was in the Province, to flee to the Protection of *Fabius* his Successor; Sending for him under pretence of speaking with him, and having received him under his roof, he caus'd him to be tetter'd, and sent him away by Sea to *Rome*. Which act of his the Senate could neither approve nor disannul, lest *Besultus*, being sent back into his Countrey, should raise a new War. Therefore they sent him to *Alba* to be secur'd.

4. The slaughter of *Virinius* admits a double accusation of Perjury; as to his friends, because he was killed in their hands; in *Q. Servilius Capio* the Consul, because he was the Author of the fact, and promis'd impunity: not deserving, but buying his Victory.

FORREIGNERS.

1. But that we may take a view of the Fountain of Perfidie it self; The *Carthaginians* pretending to send *Xanthippus* the *Lacedemonian* home, who had served them, and by whose assistance they had taken *Attilius Regulus*, sunk him in the midst of the Sea. What was the aim of so much Villany? That the compa-

nion

nion of their Victory should not live? He lives however to their reproach, whom they might have left untouched, without any loss of their Honour.

2. *Hannibal* also by strangling in the smoak and steam of Baths the *Nucerini*, who upon his Faith given came out of an impregnable City; and by throwing the Senate of the *Acerrani* into Wells, while he profess'd War against the People of *Rome* and *Italy*, did he not wage a more severe war against Faith and Honesty? making use of lies and deceits, as of famous and noble Arts. By which means, though he might have otherwise left a real fame behinde him, it is now to be question'd which was most eminent, his Greatness or his Wickedness.

CHAP. VII.

Of Seditions.

The Roman People against *The Roman Souldiers against*

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|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. C. Marius, 6 times Cos. | 1. Gratidius the Legate. |
| 2. Q. Metellus the Censor. | 2. Q. Pompey the Consul. |
| 3. A. Numius, the Candidate. | 3. C. Carbo the Legate. |
| 4. A. Sempronius Asellio. | |

BUT let the Acts of violent Sedition among the Gownmen, as well as of the Armed, be related.

1. *Lu. Equitius*, who feign'd himself to be the Son of *Ti. Gracchus*, and stood for the Tribuneship with *L. Saturninus* against Law, was by *C. Marius* in his sixth Consulship carried to the publick Goal. How-

ever, the People broke open the Gates of the Prison, and taking him out again, carried him upon their shoulders in publick triumph.

2. The same person, because *Q. Metellus* the Censor refus'd to admit him into the Roll for the Son of *Gracchus*, endeavour'd to have stoned him to death, affirming that *Gracchus* had but three Sons. Of which one serv'd in *Sardinia*, the second an Infant at *Præneste*, the third born at *Rome*, deceased after his Fathers death; neither ought the unknown rubbish of a noble Family to be remembred. When the improvident Rashness of the provok'd Multitude extended it self in the mean time impudently and audaciously against the Consulship and Censorship, and assail'd their Princes with all manner of Petulancy.

3. That was onely Madnes; this a bloody Sedition. For the People compell'd *A. Numius*, the Competitor of *Saturninus*, nine Tribunes being created, and but one vacancy remaining for two Candidates, to flie to his own house: and then dragging him out from thence, slew him; that by the slaughter of an honest Citizen, they might make way for a pernicious Disturber to get into Authority.

4. The Consternation of the Creditors against *Sempronius Asellio* the Prætor, brake forth into a most intollerable Rage. Whom, because he underook the cause of the Debts, being stirr'd up by *L. Cassius* the Tribune, they dragg'd from the Altar, as he was sacrificing before the Temple of Concord, and slew him in his Robes of Authority.

Of the Roman souldiers.

1. The Sedition of Citizens is to be detested; but if we look into the Camp, an equal indignation will arise. When the Province of *Asia* was, by the *Sul-*
pician

pician Law, decreed to *C. Marins* a private person, to prosecute the War against *Mitbridates*, the Souldiers slew *Gratidius*, sent by him to *L. Sulla* the Consul, to receive the Legions from him. Offended, without doubt, that they were to be commanded by a person of no Honour, that had served under a person of the highest Dignity. But who may endure a Souldier correcting the Decrees of the Commonalty with the Death of a Legate?

2. That in the behalf of a Consul so violently acted; this against a Consul. For when *Q. Pompey* Collegue of *Sylla* ventured to contend with *Cn. Pompey*, being sent to the Army by the command of the Senate, the Souldiers corrupted by the delusions of an ambitious Captain, fell upon him, as he was beginning to sacrifice, and slew him, as if he himself had been the Victime. And the Court, forced to give way to the Camp, durst not revenge so great a Crime.

3. That Army also was wickedly violent who kill'd *C. Carbo*, the Brother of *Carbo* thrice Consul, endeavouring to amend the loose Discipline of the Souldiers, crept in through the liberty of the Civil Wars; and rather chose to be contaminated with the greatest of Crimes, than to alter their loose and depraved Manners.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Rashness.

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|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. P. Africanus the Greater. | FORREIGNERS. |
| 2. C. Cæsar twice Consul. | 1. Hannibal. |
| 3. The Roman Army. | 2. The People of Athens. |

Suddain also and vehement are the Instigations of Rashness; by the throaks whereof the minds of men are disorder'd, not being able to foresee their own dangers, nor prosecute the facts of others with a due consideration.

1. For how rashly did the Greater *Africanus* cross the Sea out of *Spain*, with two Gallies of five Oars, to *Syphax* the King, trusting his own and his Countries safety in the faithless breast of one *Numidian*! So that in one moment it was a doubtful question, whether *Scipio* should be the Captive or the Conquerour of *Syphax*.

2. The doubtful attempt also of *C. Cæsar* was protected by the Heavens. For impatient of the Legions crossing from *Brundisium* to *Apollonia*, leaving the Banquet, out of a pretence of being sick, he went aboard a small Ship, and in a most rigorous Tempest steers out of the River into the very mouth of the *Adriatic Sea*; and commanding the Ship to keep her course, long tossed by contrary Waves, at length he was forced to return.

3. Now what a most execrable Rashness was that of the Souldiers? For they were the cause that *Albinus*, a person famous for his Nobility, Conditions, and

and great Honours, through false and vain suspicions was stoned to death in the Camp. And, which admits of no excuse, denied their Captain, praying and beseeching, the power of answering for himself.

FORREIGNERS.

1. Therefore I wonder the less, that the severe and cruel *Hannibal* would not admit the guiltless Pilot to make his defence; who returning out of *Italy* from *Petilia*, not believing he could reach between *Italy* and *Sicily* so soon, killed the Pilot, thinking he had betrayed him. But at length, when he found what the Pilot had said to be true, pardon'd him too late; when he could pay no respect to his Innocence, but that of a Sepulchre. And therefore in the midst of a narrow and tempestuous Frith, stands an overlooking Statue, expos'd to the eyes of them that sail to and fro, in remembrance of *Pelorium* and the *Punic* Rashness.

2. The *Athenian* City was also mad to Rashness, which put to death unheard ten of their chief Generals, returning from a noble Victory; and all because they could not bury the slain Souldiers, through the tempestuousness of the Sea: Punishing Necessity, when they should have honoured Vertue.

CHAP. IX.

Of Errour.

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|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Of the Roman People. | 3. The Guard of Lartius |
| 2. C. Cassius Longinus,
Proconsul. | Tolumnius King of
the Veientes. |

ERroure is next to Rashness: as equally prejudicial, so to them also it least knows: because it commits mistakes not willingly, but out of false imaginations; which being far spread in the breast of men, if I should omit it, I should be guilty of the Errour which I blame. Therefore let us recite a few Mistakes.

1. *C. Helvius Cinna*, Tribune of the People, returning home from *Cesar's* Funeral, was torn by the hands of the People, mistaken for *Cornelius Cinna*, upon whom they thought to have spent their rage; provoked against him, because that being *Cesar's* Kinsman, he had made an abusive Oration against him that was impiously slain. And so far irritated they were by the same Errour, that they carried the Head of *Helvius*, as if it had been the Head of *Cornelius*, fix'd upon a Pole, about the Funeral-pile of *Cesar*. A cruel expiation of Duty and Mistake.

2. For Errour caused *C. Cassius* to punish himself. For in the midst of that various and unknown event to the Captains themselves, of the fight of four Armies at *Philippi*; *Titinius* the Centurion being sent by him in the Night to see in what condition *Brutus* was, while he fetch'd several compasses about, because the darkness of the Night did not suffer him to know whether

whether he met Foes or Friends, it was long before he return'd. *Cassius* therefore believing him to have been taken by the Enemy, and that they were absolute Masters of the field, hasten'd to end his life, when *Brutus's* forces were in part safe, and Masters of the Enemies Camp. But the Courage of *Titinius* is not to be forgot, who stood a while astonish'd at the unexpected sight of his Captain wallowing in his own blood, then bursting into tears; *Though imprudently, General*, said he, *I was the cause of thy death, this imprudence shall not go unpunish'd; receive me a companion to thy fate*; and so saying, threw himself upon the lifeless trunk, with his Sword up to the Hilt in his own Body: And intermixing blood with blood, they lay a double sacrifice, the one of Piety, the other of Errour.

3. But certainly Mistake did a great injury to the family of *Lartius Tullius* King of the *Veientes*; who after he had through a lucky cast at Dice, cried to his Play-mate, *Kill*; the Guard, mistaking the word, fell upon the *Roman* Embassadors, and slew them, as they were just entering the Room; interpreting Play as a Command.

CHAP. X.

Of Revenge.

IN ROMANS.

FORRAIGNERS.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Of the Papyrian Tribe of the Tuscians against Polias. 2. Of the people of Utica against Fabius Adrianus. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Thamyris and Bérénice Queens. 2. Certain Youths of Thesaly. |
|--|---|

THE Stings of Revenge as they are sharp, so they are just, while they meditate to repay received Injuries. Of which a few Examples will serve.

1. *M. Flavius*, Tribune of the People, reported to the People against the *Tuscians*, that by their advice the *Privermates* and *Veliterni* would rebel. Who when they came to *Rome* in a most miserable and suppliant manner, with their Wives and Children, it hapned that all the rest of the Tribes being for Mercy, the *Polian* Tribe alone gave judgment that they should be first whipp'd, and then put to death; and the multitude of Women and Children to be sold for Slaves. For which reason the *Papyrian* Tribe, in which the *Tuscians* being received into the City, had a strong Vote, never made afterwards any Candidate of the *Polian* Tribe a Magistrate; that no Honour might come to that Tribe, which as much as in them lay, had endeavoured to deprive them of their Lives and Liberty.

2. But this Revenge both the Senate and the consent of all men approved. For when *Adrianus* had
forbidly

fordidly tyrannized over the *Roman* Citizens at *Utica*, and was therefore by them burnt alive; the matter was never question'd in the City, nor any complaint made against it.

F O R R E I G N E R S.

1. Famous Examples of Revenge were both Queens: *Thamyris*, who having caused the Head of *Cyrus* to be cut off, commanded it to be thrown into a Tub of humane Blood; upbraiding him with his insatiable thirst after Blood, and revenging upon him the Death of her Son, who was slain by him. And *Berenice*, who taking heavily the loss of her Son, entrapped by the snares of *Laodice*, got arm'd into her Chariot, and following the Kings Life-guard-man that had done the Mischief, after she had miss'd him with her Spear, she fell'd him with a Stone; and driving her Horses over his Body, rid directly through the bands of the adverse party to the house where she thought the body of the slain Child lay.

2. It is a hard thing to judge whether a just Revenge or not were the ruine of *Jason* of *Thessaly*, preparing to make war against the King of *Persia*. For he gave leave to *Taxillus* the Master of his Games, complaining that he had been abused by certain young men, that he should either require thirty Drachma's from them, or to give them ten Stripes. Which last revenge when he used, they that were lash'd, kill'd *Jason*; valuing the measure of the punishment by the pain of the Minde, and not of the Body. Thus by a small provocation of ingenious Shame, a great Undertaking was subverted. Because that in the opinion of *Greece*, there was as much expected from *Jason*, as from *Alexander*.

CHAP. XI.

Of things naughtily said, and wickedly done.

ROMANS.

1. Tullia Servilia.
2. C. Fimbria Tribune of
the People.
3. L. Catiline.
4. Magius Chilo.
5. C. Toranius.
6. Villius Annalis.

7. *The wife of Vettius Sallustus.*

FORREIGNERS.

1. *Two Spanish Brothers.*
2. *Mithridates the King.*
3. *Sariafter the Son of Tigranes.*
4. L. Ælius Sejanus.

NOW because we pursue the good and bad things of humane Life, let us go on with what hath been naughtily said, and wickedly done.

1. But where shall I better begin than from *Tullia*? as being the ancientest in time, the wickedest and most monstrous Example of Impiety. Who, when her Charioteer, as she was riding in her Chariot, stopp'd his Horses; upon her enquiry finding that the dead body of her Father, *Servius Tullius*, lay in the way, caus'd the Charioteer to drive over it; that she might hasten to the embraces of *Tarquinius*, who had slain him. By which impious and shameful haste, she not only stain'd herself with eternal Infamy, but also the very Village it self, which was called, *The wicked Village*, after that.

2. Not so horrible was the Act and Saying of *C. Fimbria*; though consider'd by themselves, both very abominable. He had order'd it, that *Scævola* should

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be killed at the Funeral of *C. Marius*; whom after he found to be recovered of his Wound, he resolv'd to accuse to the People. Being then ask'd what he could say truly of him, whose conversation was not to be blamed; answered, that he would accuse him, *For not receiving the Dart any further into his Body.*

3. *L. Catiline*, *Cicero* saying in the Senate, that there was a great fire kindled by him; *I perceive it*, said he; *and if I could not quench it with Water, I would with Ruine.* What can we think, but that the stings of his Conscience moved him to finish the act of Parricide which he began?

4. The Breast of *Magius Chilo* was deeply troubled with Madness: Who with his own hand snatch'd away *Marcellus's* Life that *Cæsar* had given him. For being an old Souldier under *Pompey*, he took it ill that any of *Pompey's* friends should be preferr'd before him. For as he was upon his return from *Mitylene* to the City, he stabb'd him with a Dagger in the Port of *Athens*. An Enemy of Friendship, an Interceptor of divine Favour, and the Ignominy of publick Faith, which had promis'd the Life of so great a person.

5. To this Cruelty, to which there seems no addition to be made, *C. Caius Toranius* exceeds in heinousness of Parricide. For adhering to the Faction of the Triumviri, he described to the Centurions the marks, the age and lurking places of his proscrib'd Father, a famous person, and of the Prætorian Order, to the end they might finde him out. The Old-man more concerned for the life and advancement of his Son, than for the remainder of his days, enquired of the Centurions whether his Son were safe, and whether he pleas'd his Generals. One of which made answer, *Being shew'd by him*, said he, *whom thou so much lovest, we are come to be thy Executioners*; and presently ran him through. Thus fell that unhappy man,

ET

more

more miserable in the author of his Death, than in his Death it self.

6. Which was the bitter Lot of *L. Villius Annalis*. Who coming into the Field to the choice of his Son for Quætor, and knowing himself to be proscrib'd, flew to his Protection. But the wickedness of the Youngman was the cause, that he was not safe in his Protection: For he deliver'd him up to the Souldiers, that followed his steps, to be slain in his presence. Twice a Parricide, by Counsel, and beholding the slaughter.

7. *Vettius Sallastus* proscrib'd, had an end no less bitter; whom being hidden, what shall I say, whether his Wife deliver'd him to be slain, or flew him her self? For how can we think the Crime less, where the hand is only absent?

F O R R A I G N E R S.

1. But this fact, because Forraign, shall be more calmly deliver'd. *Scipio Africanus* celebrating the Memory of his Father and his Uncle at *New Carthage* with a Gladiatory gift, two Kings Sons, their Father being dead, enter'd upon the Sand; promising there to fight for the Kingdom, that their Combat might make the spectacle more famous. Then when *Scipio* admonish'd rather to contend in words than blows who should reign, and that the elder submitted to his advice; the younger, trusting to his strength, persisted in his Madnes. But the issue of the Combat was, that the more obstinate Impiety was punished with Death.

2. *Mithridates* much more wickedly; who not only made war with his Brother, but with his own Father himself for the Kingdom. Wherein, how he got assistants to help him, or durst invoke the gods, is to me a wonder.

3. But

3. But why should we wonder at a thing as not usual with those people? When *Sarnas* so conspir'd with his friends against *Tigranes* his Father, King of *Armenia*, that all of them let themselves blood in their right hands, and drank it up. Hardly were such a bloody Conspiracy to be endur'd for the safety of a Parent.

4. But why do I stay upon these Examples, when I see all Villanies exceeded by the thought of one Parricide? And therefore I am transported to dilacerate it with a pious, rather than strong affection. For who, the faith of Friendship being extinct, can finde words enough to send to the Abyss of due execration the person that endeavoured the subversion of all Mankind? Couldst thou, more cruel than the Cruelty of Barbarism it self, have rubd the reins of the *Roman* Empire, which our Prince and Parent governs with his protecting Arm? Or while thou wert so mad, could the world have remained steady? Thy purpose was to have represented the mad intentions of thy fury, and to have ourdone the City taken by the *Gauls*, the slaughter of the three hundred Noblemen, the Battle of *Allia*, the *Scipio's* ruined in *Spain*, *Thrasymene*, *Cannæ*, and *Æmathia*, reaking with Civil Blood. But the Eyes of the Gods were awake, the Stars were also watchful; the Altars, Beds and Temples were full of the present Numen. There was nothing permitted to grow drowlie, that was to watch over the head and safety of *Augustus*. And in the first place the Author and Defender of our safety by his divine wisdom provided, lest his famous works should have been buried in the ruine of the whole world. Therefore Peace remains, the Laws are in force, and the order of publick and private Duty stands fast. For he that endeavoured to subvert all these, by violating the bonds of Friendship, trod under

foot with all his Family by the Roman People, hath now his punishment in Hell, if he deserve to be there.

CHAP. XII.

Of Deaths not Vulgar.

ROMANS.

1. Tullus Hostilius King.
2. *The two Mothers.*
3. Mv. Juventius Thalna.
4. Q. Lutelius Catulus.
5. L. Cornelius Merula.
6. Herennius Siculus.
7. Licinius Macer.
8. Cornelius Gallus and T. Haterius.

Cleon Captain of the Fugitives.

2. Æschylus the Poet.
3. Homer.
4. Euripides.
5. Sophocles.
6. Philemon.
7. Pindarus.
8. Anacreon.
9. Milo the Crotoniate.
10. Polydamas of Syracuse.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. Coma the Brother of

THe first and last day contain the condition of humane Life ; for it is of great concern with what lucky Omens it begins, and how it ends. And therefore we accompt him happy that begins his Life with prosperity, and ends it with quietness. The middle course of time is sometimes rugged, sometimes calm ; always deceiving hope, while we wish it long, and yet idly consume it. For by using it well, a short time becomes long, exceeding the multitude of years in the number of famous actions. But not to wander farther,

farther, let us mention those that have died no Vulgar Deaths.

1. *Tullus Hostilius* the King was struck with Thunder, and burnt together with his whole Palace. A singular Lot of Fate, by which it happen'd, that the Pillar of the City, taken away in the City it self, was seduced into that condition by the flame of Heaven, that the Citizens might not have the honour of bestowing the last Funeral Rites upon it, the Palace being both Funeral-Pile and Sepulcher.

2. 'Tis a strange thing that Joy should do the same as Thunder; and yet it did. For news being brought of the slaughter at *Thrasymene*; One Mother meeting her Son safe in the Gate, expir'd in his arms; another upon the false news of her Sons death, sitting melancholy at home, at the first sight of him, when he return'd, fell down dead. An unusual accident, that they whom Grief could not, Joy should kill.

3. But I wonder the less because they were Women. *Juventius Thalna*, Colleague with *T. Gracchus* the Consul, sacrificing in *Corfica*, which he had newly subdued, and receiving Letters that Supplications were decreed by the Senate, as he was intently reading them, a mist rose before his eyes, and he fell down dead before the hearth. What can we think, but that too much Joy was the cause of his Death? What if *Numantia* or *Carthage* had been deliver'd to him!

4. *C. Catulus*, a Captain of a greater Spirit, and Partaker with *Marius* in the *Cimbrian* Triumph, by order of the Senate, had an end more violent. For by the same *Marius* afterwards commanded to death, covered himself up in his Bed, heated vehemently hot, and daub'd with new Lime, and so stifled himself.

5. At which time also *L. Cornelius Merula*, of Consular Dignity, and Priest of *Jupiter*, that he might

not be a scorn to the Insolency of the Victors, opening his Veins in the Temple of *Jove*, avoided the denunciation of his Death.

6. A sharp and stout end was that of *Herennius* the *Sicilian*, who was both a Friend and Southsayer to *C. Gracchus*. For being for that reason carried to Prison, at the very threshold of Ignominy he knock'd out his own Brains against the post of the door, and there died : One degree more swift than Publick Justice, or the hand of the Executioner.

7. As violent was the End of *C. Licinius Macer*, a *Prætorian*, the Father of *Calvus*, being guilty of Bribery ; while the Suffrages were separating, went into the place of Judgment, and seeing *M. Cicero*, who assembled the Judges, preparing to plead, he sent to tell him, that he died not condemned, but guilty, and that his estate could not be confiscated ; and having so said, stopping his Mouth and Nostrils with his Handkerchief, and holding his Breath, he prevented his punishment by Death. Which being known, *Cicero* forbore to pronounce Sentence. Thus an Illustrious person freed himself from an unusual sort of Death, from the shame of Condemnation, and his Family from Want.

8. This a stout Death, the next ridiculous. For *Cornelius Gallus*, and *T. Histerius* a Roman Knight, expir'd at their Venery. But what imports it to reprehend the Fate of those, whom not their Lust, but the condition of humane frailty brought to an end ? For the end of Life being expos'd to various and occult Causes, sometimes certain accidents gain the title of Supreme Fate, when they rather happen at the time of Death, than any way hasten it.

FORREIGNERS.

1. The Deaths of Strangers are also very remarkable;

able; as that of *Coma*, the Brother of *Cleon* the greatest Captain of Thieves in his time. For he being brought to *Rupilius* the Consul after the taking of *Enna*, which the Thieves kept, being examined touching the force and designs of the Fugitives, resuming time to collect himself, he covered his Head, with his Knees bent, and holding his Breath, he expir'd in the hands of his Keepers, and in the sight of the supreme Command. Let the miserable torment themselves, to whom it is more profitable to dye than live, with timorous and dubious counsel how to end their Lives: Let them sharpen their Knives, temper Poysons, take Halters, view Precipices, as if it required some preparation or exact method to separate the strict society of Soul and Body. *Coma* made use of none of these, but his Soul being shut up in his breast, found its own way.

2. The Death of *Aschylus*, though not voluntary, may be however related for the novelty. For walking out of the Town where he liv'd in *Sicily*, he sat down in a convenient place, upon whom an Eagle bearing a Tortoise, deceived by the baldness of his head, let fall the Tortoise to break it, that he might come at the flesh. And by that blow the beginning of a higher Tragedy was thud in the birth.

3. Nor was the cause of *Homer's* Death vulgar: Who is said to have died for grief, because he could not answer a question which the Fishers put to him.

4. More sad was the destiny of *Euripides*. For returning to the house where he lay in *Macedonia*, from supping with King *Archelaus*, he was torn to pieces by Dogs. A fate too severe for so great a Wit.

5. *Sophocles* being very old, and having rehears'd a Tragedy at the publick place for trial of Wit, after a long dispute remaining at length Victor by one voice, died for joy that he had won.

6. *Philemon* was carried off by immoderate laughter. For an *Afs* eating certain *Figs* that were prepared for him, and set before him, he call'd the boy to drive him away: who not coming till the *Afs* had eaten them all up; *Because then comest so late*, said he, *prethee give the Afs some Wine too*; and prosecuting his Jeast with an intemperancy of Laughter, stopp'd up the passages of the Spirits.

7. But *Pindarus* laying his head in the School on a Boy's lap, who was his only delight, and composing himself for rest, was not known to be dead, till the Master of the Exercising-place, where he lay, going to shut the doors, sought in vain to wake him. Certainly the same favour of the Gods granted him his Poetic Eloquence, and such an easie Death.

8. As happen'd also to *Anacreon*, though he had outlived the age of man, whom, cherishing his old age with the juice of Raisins, the more thick moisture of one Grape sticking in his Throat, carried off.

9. I will adde those, whose Exit and Intent were alike. *Milo* the *Crotoniate*, as he was travelling, seeing an Oak cleft with Wedges, trusting to his strength, went to the Oak, and thought with his hands to pull one from the other. But the Wedges falling out, the Oak closed again, and there kept him, till with all the Palms and Victories he had won, the wild beasts came and devoured him.

10. *Polydamus* also, the *Wrestler*, being forced by fire's of weather to shelter himself in a Cave, which being weakned and ready to fall, while his Companions ran away, he only stood still, thinking to have upheld the weight with his Shoulders. But being oppress'd with a weight more powerful than humane strength, the shelter which he sought from the shower, became the Sepulcher of his own mad fate.

These

These Examples may teach us, that Vigour of Minde and vast Strength of Body are not always companions. Nature not affording two such great Benefits together, that the same person should at once be the most strong and the most wise.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Desire of Life.

ROMANS.

1. *Mu. Aquilius Consular Legate.*
2. *Cn. Carbo thrice Consul.*
3. *D. Junius Brutus Proconsul.*

FORRAIGNERS.

1. *Xerxes King of Persia.*
2. *Massinissa King of the Numidians.*
3. *Alexander King of the Phereans.*
4. *Dionysius the Tyrant.*

NOW because we have touch'd upon some casual, some courageous, some rash terminations of Life; we may now adde some that are low-spirited and effeminate. That by the comparison it may appear, how Death may be sometimes not only more stoutly, but more prudently desired.

1. *Mu. Aquilius*, when he might have bravely died, chose rather to be an ignominious slave to *Mithridates*. Whether shall we say he best deserved the *Pontic* punishment, or the *Roman* Empire? Since he permitted private Ignominy to be the publick Shame.

2. *Cn. Carbo* is a great blot to the *Latine* Annals, who in his third Consulship, being sent to be put to death in *Sicily* by *Pompey*, humbly and with tears in his eyes begg'd of the Souldiers, that he might have
time

time to ease himself before he suffered, that he might enjoy that miserable moment of a pitiful Life : and so long he delayed, till his head was sordidly cut off as he fate. The words relating so much Pusillanimity, are at variance among themselves, neither friendly to silence, because they deserve not to be conceal'd, nor familiar to rehearsal, when the subject naueicates.

2. *Brutus* with how much shame did he buy an unhappy and small moment of Life ! For being taken by *Furius*, whom *Antonius* had sent to apprehend him, not only withdrew his Neck from the Sword, but being admonish'd to hold still, he swore in these words, *As I live, I will hold it forth.* O contemptible delay of fate ! O stolid and lilly Oath ! But these are thy deliriums, out of an immoderate desire of the sweets of Life, expelling that measure of Reason, which teaches to love Life, yet not to fear Death.

FORREIGNERS.

1. Thou the same sweetness of Life didst compel *Xerxes* to shed tears for the 'armed Youth of all *Asia*, of which there would be none remaining in less than an hundred years. Who thereby seem'd to me, while he bewail'd others, to deplore his own condition. Happy rather in the multitude of his Riches, than in the deep Reflexion of his thoughts. For who but meanly prudent would bewail that he was born mortal ?

2. I will relate others now, who having others in suspicion, sought to have a more exquisite care of themselves. Nor will I begin from the most miserable, but one that was accompted the most happy among a few. *Massiniss*, the King repoling but little faith in Men, secur'd himself with a guard of Dogs. What meant so large an Empire ? What so great a
number

number of Children? What the *Roman* Friendship so strictly allied to him? If to secure all these, he thought nothing more powerful than the barking and biting of Dogs?

3. *Alexander* was more unhappy than this King; whose minde on the one side Love, on the other Fear tormented. For being infinitely enamour'd of his Wife *Thebe*, going to her from a Banquet into her Chamber, he caus'd a Barbarian Fugitive to go before him with his Sword drawn. Nor did he put himself to bed, till he was diligently search'd by those about him. A mix'd Punishment, through the anger of the Gods, that he could neither command his Lust nor his Fear. Of whose Fear the cause and end was the same. For *Thebe* slew *Alexander*, provoked by his Adultery.

4. *Dionysius* Tyrant of *Syracuse*, how long a story might he make of this fear? Who prolonged a Tyranny of two and forty years, in this manner: He removed his Friends, and substituted in their places men brought from the most fierce of Nations, and stout Servants pick'd out of wealthy Families for his Guard; and out of fear of a Barber, taught his Daughters to shave: into whose hands, when they came to ripe Age, not daring to commit Iron, he order'd his Beard and Hair to be burnt off with the flame of the skins of Walnuts. Nor was he a more secure Husband than he was a Father. For having married at the same time *Aristomache* of *Syracuse*, and *Cloris* of *Locris*, he never lay with either till they were searched. And he entrench'd his Bed, like a Camp, into which he went over a wooden Bridge, leaving the outward Chamber-door open to his Guards, and carefully locking the inner himself.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Similitude of Form.

ROMANS.

1. Cn. Pompey the Great, with Vibius and Publicius.
2. Cn. Pompey Strabo with Menogenes the Cook.
3. P. Scipio Nalica with Serapius.
4. P. Lentulus and Qu. Metellus Consuls, with Spinther and Pamphilus the Players.

5. M. Messala and C. Curio with Menoges and Bubulcius Scenics.

FORREIGNERS.

1. Antiochus King of Syria with Artemon.
2. Hybras the Orator with a Servant of the Cyreans.
3. A Sicilian Fisher with a Roman Prætor.

Concerning the likeness of Countenance and Proportion, the more Learned dispute subtilly. And some are of opinion, that it answers to the original and composition of the blood. Nor do they draw a mean Argument from other Creatures, which are like those that beget them. Others deny this to be the Constitution of Nature, but an Accidental Chance of Conception. And therefore many times the beautiful bring forth deformed, the strong produce weak Children. But because the Question is doubtful, let us produce a few Examples of noted Likeness.

1. *Vibius* of a good Family, and *Publicius* the Freed-man were so like *Pompey* the Great, that changing their condition, they might have been saluted for him, and he for them. Certainly, wherever *Vibius* or *Publicius* came, all mens eyes were upon them; every

one remarking the form of a mighty Citizen in persons of mean degree. Which kind of Mockery became almost hereditary to him.

2. For his Father also was so exceeding like *Menogenes* his Cook, that a man fierce in Courage and potent in Arms could not avoid that sordid name upon himself.

3. *Cornelius Scipio* a young man, illustrious for his Nobility, abounding in many famous Surnames of his Family, could not scape the servile Appellation of *Serapio*; being so like a Killer of the Sacrifices who was of that Name. Nor could the Probity of his Life, nor the Antiquity of his Family, any way prevail against the Scandal.

4. A most generous Collegueship was that of *Lentulus* and *Metellus*. Yet both were look'd upon as Players, so like they were to two Histrio's upon the Stage. For the one got the surname of *Spinther*, an Actor of the Second Parts; and if the other had not had the surname of *Nepos* from his Ancestors, he had had the surname of *Pamphilus*, an Actor of Third Parts, whom he so much resembled.

5. But *M. Messala*, of Consular Dignity, was forced to receive the surname of *Menogenes*; and *Curio*, abounding in wealth, that of *Barbuleius*: the one by reason of the likeness of their Faces; the other, because of the likeness of their Gate.

FORREIGNERS.

1. These are enough for Domesticks, because they are particularly remarkable in reference to the persons, and not obscure in relation to common knowledge. There was one *Artemon* by name, and related to the Royal Family, who was affirm'd to be very like to King *Antiochus*: Whom *Laodice* having murder'd her Husband, to conceal the fact, laid in her Husbands

Bed,

Bed, to counterfeit the King as sick. And by his Countenance and Voice deceived all people that were admitted to see him, and believed that *Laodice* and her Children were recommended by dying *Antiochus* to their care.

2. *Hybreas* of *Mylasa*, an Oratour of a smart and copious Eloquence, was so like a Servant of the *Cyrians*, that swept the Wrestling-School, that all the eyes of *Asia* took him for his own Brother; so like he was in all the Lineaments of Face and Members.

3. But he that was in *Sicily* so like the *Prætor*, was of a petulant disposition. For the *Proconsul* saying, That he wonder'd how he should come to be so like him, when his Father had never been in that Countrey; But mine, answered the other, went frequently to Rome. Revenging by that means the Injury done to his Mothers Chastity, by a Suspicion thrown upon the Mother of the *Proconsul*: yet more boldly than became a man that was under the Lash and Axe of Authority.

CHAP. XV.

Of those who by lying have thrust themselves into Families which they never belong'd to.

1. *L. Equitius Firmanus.*

6. *C. Asinius Dio, false.*

2. *Erophilus the Farrier.*

FORREIGNERS.

3. *The false son of Octavia Augustus's Sister.*

1. *Rubria of Millain false.*

4. *The false son of Sertorius.*

2. *Ariarathes the false*

5. *Trebellius Calca.*

King of Cappadocia.

THe former was a tolerable piece of Impudence, and only dangerous to himself. That which follows is no way to be endur'd, and not only privately, but publickly dangerous.

1. For

1. For that I my not omit *Equitius*; a Monster out of *Firmum* in *Piceni*, whose manifest lye in counterfeiting himself the Son of *T. Gracchus*, by the turbulent mistake of the Vulgar, was defended by the power of the Tribune.

2. *Herophilus* the Farrier, by claiming *Marius* seven times Consul for his Grandfather, so set himself forth, that most of the Colonies of the Veterane Souldiers, and noble free Towns, adopted him for their Patron. Nay when *Cesar*, having overcome young *Pompey* in *Spain*, had admitted the people into his Gardens, he was saluted in the next space between the Pillars by the Multitude. And had not *Cesar* prudently prevented the storm, the Commonwealth had suffer'd as much by him as by *Equitius*. But being banished out of *Italy* by him, after he was taken into Heaven, the other return'd into the City, and durst attempt to plot the killing of the Senate. For which reason being by the command of the Fathers put to Death in Prison, he had the late reward of a quick intention to do mischief.

3. Neither was the Deity of the World, *Augustus* himself, ruling the world, exempt from this kinde of Imposture: There being a certain person that durst to affirm himself born of the womb of his most dear Sister *Octavia*; saying, that for the infirmity of his body, he was put out to the person that bred him; and his Son taken in in his stead. Thus at the same time endeavouring to deprive a most sacred Family of the Memory of their true Blood, and to contaminate it with the contagion of a Lye. But while he soar'd to the utmost degree of boldness, he was by *Cesar* condemn'd to the Gallies.

4. There was also one who affirm'd himself to be the Son of *Q. Sertorius*, whose Wife would by no means be compell'd to acknowledge him.

5. *Trebellius*

5. *Trebellius Calca*, how stedfastly did he justify himself to be *Clodius*! And while he contended for his Estate, was so favourably receiv'd by the Court of Judicature, that the tumult of the people would hardly give way for a just and legal Sentence. However, the Constancy of the Judges would not give way, either to the Calumnies of the Claimer, nor the fury of the People.

6. Much more stoutly was that done by him, who when *L. Sylla* rul'd in chief, brake into the house of *Asinius Dio*, and expell'd his Son out of doors, clamouring that it was he that was *Dio's* Son. But when *Cæsar's* Equity had freed the Commonwealth from *Sylla's* Tyranny, a juster Prince steering the helm of Government, the Impostor died in Jail.

FORREIGNERS.

1. While the same Prince governed, the Rashness of a Woman was punish'd at *Milan*, upon account of the same Imposture. For attesting herself to be one *Rubria*, and claiming by that means an Estate that belong'd not to her; though she wanted neither favour nor Witnesses, yet the invincible Constancy of *Cæsar* disappointed her of her hopes.

2. The same person compell'd to just punishment a Barbarian, affecting the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, and affirming himself to be *Ariarathes*, who was certainly known to have been slain by *Mark Antony*; though at the same time he had deluded most of the Cities and People of the East.

FINIS.

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Fabius Maximus



Lycurgus



Cæsar



Alexander



Pyrrhus



Xerxes



Marius



Sylla



Scipio Africanus



Themistocles



Pompey



Romulus

London printed for Samuel Speed;

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To the Right Honourable
HENEAGE Lord *FINCH*,

Baron of *Daventry*,

AND

Lord High CHANCELLOR of *England*.

May it please your Honour,

HAVING lately experienc'd the
Influences of your Honours
Favours, I hold my self in
Duty bound to pay my Acknowledge-
ments to the utmost of my power; which
is, in this Address to declare your Piety
and your Bounty: For which reasons
I had been guilty of Injustice, had I
sought for any other Patron, being
lately so generously remembred by your
Honour. Thus I endeavour to shew
my Gratitude, though the highest Pi-
nacle thereof bears no proportion with
the large Pillars of your Honours High
Worth and Dignity; well observing
what is in ancient Story recorded of
Lycurgus the Lacedemonian Law-gi-
ver, that he slighted the making a De-
A
cree

The Epistle Dedicatory.

cree against Ingratitude, imagining no man could be so sordidly wretched, as to be guilty of that horrid Crime. Wherefore, to pay my Debt in the best Coyn I have, I humbly offer this to your Honours Patronage, it being a Collection of the Acts and Sayings of Oratours and States-men; and who can be more fit to receive them than the far-excelling Tully of our Age? Of whom I may say as once the ancient Roman, *Omniū somnos tua vigilantia, omniū delicias tua industria, omniū vacationem tua occupatio.*

May it please your Honour not to give your Lordship any farther trouble; your Acceptance and Pardon is humbly implor'd by

Your Honours
Obedient, Devoted,
and Obliged Servant,

Samuel Speed.



THE
L I F E
O F

VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

V*alerius Maximus*, a Roman Citizen of a *Patrician* Family, spent his childhood and youth in the study of Learning. Then coming to be of age, he betook himself to the *VVars*; where he is said to have serv'd for some time, and to have sail'd with *Sextus Pompey* into *Asia*. VVhence returning home, when he found himself able to profit his Country by well speaking as well as doing, from which the love of Honour had for some time diverted him, he resolv'd to put forth the Acts and Sayings, the

A 2

most

The Life of Valerius Maximus.

most remarkable, of the Roman City, and of forraign Nations ; which he very luckily finish'd. He flourish'd in the Raign of *Tiberius Cæsar*, and in his time, whose Numen he invokes, he wrote this History : For the Roman Emperours, when by their vertue they had justly and uprightly manag'd the Empire, were translated into the number of the Gods, and were call'd *Divi Imperatores*. He deriv'd his Pedigree by the Fathers side from the *Valerian* Family ; by the Mothers side, from the *Fabian* : from both which he obtain'd the name of *Valerius Maximus*. Of his Death there is nothing certain reported.



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Quintus



Quintus Valerius Maximus

OF

Memorable things.

LIB. I.

The PROLOGUE

TO

AUGUSTUS TIBERIUS CÆSAR:



*Have resolved with my self,
to collect together the Deeds
and Sayings of most note,
and most worthy to be re-
membred, of the most emi-
nent persons both among the
Romans and other Nations,
taken out of the most approved Authors, where
they lie scattered at such a distance, that makes
them hard to be known; to save them the trou-
ble of a tedious search, who are willing to fol-
low their Examples. Yet I have not been over-
desirous to comprehend all: For who in a
small Volume is able to set down the Deeds of*

B

many

many Ages ? Or what wise man can hope to deliver the order of Domestick and Ferraign story, which our Predecessors have done in such happy stiles, either with greater care, or more abounding Eloquence ? Therefore, Cæsar, thy Countries onely safety, thee I invoke in the beginning of my Undertaking, whom the consent of Gods and men hath ordain'd th; great Commander both of Sea and Land; by whose Divine providence those Vertues, of which I am to discourse, are most favourably cherish'd, Vices most severely punish'd: For if the antient Orators did well to begin from the Omnipotent Jove, if the most excellent Poets did always call some particular Numen to assist 'um; much the rather does my little Work fly to your protection: For other Gods we adore onely in Opinion, you we behold equal to your Fathers and your Grand-fathers Stars in brightnesß, whose resplendent Lustres have added not a little to the Ceremonies of our Religion. Others we receive for Gods, Cæsars we make such. And because it is my intention to begin with the worship of the Gods, I shall discourse briefly of the nature thereof.

C H A P. I. Of Religion.

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|--|--|--|
| OBSERVED BY | | 13. Lucius Tarquinius <i>the King.</i> |
| 1. <i>The people of Rome.</i> | | |
| 2. Lucius Metellus, <i>High-Priest.</i> | 14. Marcus Attilius Regulus. | |
| 3. Titus Gracchus. | 15. <i>The Roman Senate.</i> | |
| 4. <i>Colledge of Priests.</i> | | |
| 5. Q. Fabius <i>Dictator, and C. Flaminius Mr. of the Horse.</i> | NEGLECTED BY | |
| 6. Pub. Crassus <i>High-priest.</i> | 16. C. Terence Varro. | |
| 7. <i>The Disciple of Æmilia the Vestal Nun.</i> | 17. Appius Cæcus, <i>and the Family of Potinius.</i> | |
| 8. Marcellus junior, <i>Consul.</i> | 18. <i>A Roman Souldier, and Brennus the Gaul.</i> | |
| 9. Lucius Furius Bibaculus. | 19. P. Turullius <i>Admiral.</i> | |
| 10. Lucius Albinus. | 20. Q. Fulvius Flaccus <i>Censor.</i> | |
| 11. C. Fabius Dorso. | 21. Q. Plemínio <i>Legat for the Pretor.</i> | |
| 12. Q. Petillius Spurius <i>Pretor.</i> | | |

Forraign Examples of Religion observ'd or neglected.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Pyrrhus <i>King of Epirus.</i> | 5. <i>The Souldiers of King Alexander.</i> |
| 2. Massanisa <i>King of Numidia.</i> | 6. Perseus. |
| 3. Dionysius <i>the Elder of Sicilie.</i> | 7. Athenians. |
| 4. Thymasitheus <i>Prince of the Liparitans.</i> | 8. Diomedon <i>an Athenian Captain.</i> |

OBSERVED.

1. Our Ancestors appointed that the set and solemn Ceremonies should be ordered by the knowledge
- B z

ledge of the High-Priests; the right Administration of these Ceremonies, and authority for so doing, the observations of the *Augurs*, the Predictions of *Apollo*, should depend upon the Books of the *Sibyls*; but that the mysteries or Wonders should be unfolded according to the Rules of the *Hebrurian* Discipline: For by the antient Institutions, when we were to commend any thing to the Gods, we gave our selves to Prayer; when any thing was earnestly to be desired of the Gods, then to Vows; when any thing to be paid, to Thanksgiving; when enquiry after future success was made, to obtain by Request; when any solemn Sacrifice was to be done, to sacrifice: By which means the significations of Wonders and Thunders were likewise discovered.

So great also was the care of our Ancestors, not onely to observe, but to increase Religion, that by decree of Senate, ten of the Sons of the chief men were sent out of their most flourishing and opulent City to the several people of *Hebruria*, to learn the Order and Discipline of Ceremonies.

1. And when they had resolved to worship *Ceres* after the Greek manner, they sent for *Calcitana*, or, as others say, *Calliphimia*, from *Vilia*, which had not yet received the name of a City, to be their Priestess, that they might not want a skilful Governess of the antient Ceremonies of the Goddess: To whom having in the City a most stately Temple dedicated, and being warn'd in the *Sibyls* Books to appeale the ancient Goddess *Ceres* in the time of *Gracchus* Tumult, they sent ten persons to *Enna*, where they believed her Sacred Mysteries were first instituted, to make an Atonement for themselves. And many times our Emperours and Commanders having obtained great Victories, have gone themselves to *Pessinuntus*, there to perform their Vows to the Mother of the Gods.

2. Me-

2. *Metellus* High-Priest, when *Posthumius* the Consul, and also a Flamin of *Mars*, desired *Africa* for his Province to make War in, commanded him under a penalty not to depart the City, thereby to desert his Function; believing that *Posthumius* could not safely adventure himself in Martial Combats, when the Ceremonies of *Mars* were neglected.

3. Praiseworthy was the Reverence of the Twelve, but more to be extoll'd, the obedience of the Twenty four Fases: for *Titus Gracchus* sent Letters to the Colledge of *Augurs* out of his Province, by which he gave them to understand, that having perus'd certain Books belonging to the Sacred Myteries of the people, he found that the Tabernacle was erroneously taken at the grand Consular Assemblies for Election, which he had caus'd to be made; which thing being reported to the Senate, by command thereof *C. Figulus* returning out of *Gallia*, *Scipio Nasica* from *Corfica*, both laid down their Consulships.

4. For the same reason, *P. Clælius* of *Sicilie*, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *C. Claudius*, for that the Entrails were less reverently brought to the Altars of the Gods than they ought to have been, at several times, and in several Wars, were commanded and compelled to leave the Flaminship. And because a Bee fell upon the head of *Sulpicius* while he was sacrificing, he lost the Priesthood.

5. The peeping of a Mouse being overheard, was the reason that *Fabius Maximus* quitted the Dictatorship, and *C. Flaminius* ceased to be Master of the Horse.

6. To this we may add, that *P. Licinius* High-Priest thought fit to give the lash to a Vestal-Virgin, for that one night she had been negligent of the Holy fire.

7. But *Vesta* her self sav'd the Hand-maid of *Emilia* the Vestal, who had let the fire out; for while she

was worshipping, and had laid her Vail which was very rich upon the Hearth, presently the fire caught hold thereof.

8. No wonder then that the indulgence of the Gods was so great in preserving and increasing their Empire : for such a scrupulous care seemed to examine the smallest concernments of Religion, so that our City is to be thought never to have had her eyes off from the most exact worship of the Gods: And therefore when *Marcellus*, five times Consul, having taken *Clastidium*, and after that *Syracuse*, would have in performance of his Vows, erected a Temple to Honour and Vertue : He was opposed by the Colledge of Priests, who deni'd that one Domicil could be rightly dedicated to two Gods. For if any Prodigy should happen, it would remain doubtful to which Deity should be made Address : nor was it the custome to sacrifice at once to two Deities, unless to some in particular. Upon which Admonition of the Priests, *Marcellus* in two severall Temples set up the Images of Honour and Vertue; whereby it came to pass, that neither the authority of so great a man was any hindrance to the Colledge, nor the addition of expence any impediment to *Marcellus*, but that all Justice and Observation was given to Religion.

9. *Lucius Furius Bibaculus* hath hardly any Example to parallel him, unless that of *Marcellus* : Nor is he to be deprived of the praise of a most pious and religious minde, who while he was Pretor, being commanded by his Father, Principal of the Colledge of the *Salian* Priests, carried the *Aucilia*, six L. stois going before him; though he might have pleaded an excuse from that duty, by vertue of his place. But our City valued Religion above all things, preferring it before the authority of all severaign Majesty; therefore their Emperours have not scrupled to obey in Sacred

cred things; believing they should the more easily obtain the sole command of humane things, if they were constantly and truly obedient to the Divine power.

10. Which resolution hath been also bred up in the breasts of private persons. For when the City was taken by the *Gauls*, and that the Quirinal Flamen and the Vestal Virgins were forced to carry the Sacred things, taking every one a share of the burthen, having now pass'd the *Sublician* Bridge, and ready to descend the Rock that leads to *Janiculum*; they were spied by *Alvanus*, who was driving a Cart wherein he had put his Wife and Children, who no sooner saw them in that condition, but regarding publick Religion more than private Charity, commanded them to alight; and then placing the Holy things, and ordering the Vestal to get in, he left his own intended Journey, and drove them till he came to the Town of *Cere*; where, because they were curteously and reverently received, we testifie our thanks, and honour the memory of their Humanity: For thence it came to be instituted, that those Sacred Rites were called Ceremonies, because the *Ceretans* worshipped and observed them as well in the low as flourishing state of the Commonwealth: And that Mean and Country Cart, on a sudden the receptacle of so much Honour, came to equal, if not out-vie, the glory of a Triumphant Chariot.

11. About the same time, memorable was the Example of observ'd Religion which *Cains Fabius Dorso* gave us: for when the *Gauls* besieged the Capitol, lest the accustomed Sacrifice of the *Fabii* should be put by, clad in a *Gabin* habit, and carrying the Sacred things in his hands and upon his shouldiers, he at length pass'd through the midst of the Enemy to the Quirinal-Hill, where having performed what was to be done, he returned to the Capitol with Divine Adoration

tion of his victorious Atchievement, as if he had been a Victor indeed.

12. Great also was the care of preserving Religion among our Ancestors, where *Publius Cornelius* and *Bebius Tamphilus* were Consuls: For the Labourers that were digging a Field of *Petillius* the Scribe, at the foot of *Janiculum*, delving somewhat deeper than ordinary, found two little Stone-chests; in one whereof was a Writing, declaring, That it was the body of *Numa Pompilius* Son of *Pomponius*: In the other were seven Books in the Latine Tongue, treating of the right of the High-Priest; and as many in Greek, discoursing of Wisdom. For the preservation of the Latine Books they took especial care; but the Greek one, (for there seemed to be some things therein prejudicial to their Religion) *Lucius Petillius* the Pretor by decree of Senate caus'd to be burnt in a publick Fire made by the Officers belonging to the Sacrifices: for the antient *Romans* could not endure that any thing should be reserved in the City, which might be a means to draw the minds of men from the worship of the Gods.

13. *Tarquinus* the King caus'd *Marcus Tullius* the *Duumvir* to be sow'd in a Sack after the antient manner, and to be thrown into the Sea, for that he had for a Bribe delivered to *Petronius Sabinus* a certain Book containing the Mysteries of the Civil Sacred things committed to his keeping. Most justly, seeing that violation of Trust deserves the same punishment among men, as from the Gods.

14. But as to those things which concern the Observation of Religion, I know not whether *Attilius Regulus* have not excelled all that ever went before him, who of a famous Conquerour being now become a Captive, through the wiles and ambushments of *Hannibal* and *Xantippus* the *Lacedemonian*, he was sent

sent to the Senate and people of *Rome*, to try if he could get himself, being but one, and old, redeemed for several young and noble *Carthaginians*; who when he came, advised the Senate to the contrary, and went back to *Carthage*, well knowing to what cruel and inveterate Enemies he returned; but he had sworn so to do, if he could not obtain the release of their Captives. Surely the Immortal Gods had reason to have mitigated their fury; but that the glory of *Atilius* might be the greater, they permitted the *Carthagians* to take their own inhumane courses: As they who in the third *Punic* War would severely recompence the death of so noble a Soul with the destruction of their City.

15. How much more religious toward the Gods did our Senate shew themselves? which after the fatal overthrow of *Cannæ*, decreed that no women should mourn longer than thirty days, to the end the Rites of *Ceres* might be by them performed. For now the greatest part of the men lying slain upon the bloody cursed Earth, there was no Family in the City that did not partake of the general Calamity. And therefore the Mothers and Daughters, Wives and Sisters of the slain were compelled to put off their Mourning-weeds, and put on their White-garments, and to perform the office of Priests. Through which constancy of observing Religion, forc'd the Deities themselves to blush, and be ashamed of raging any more against such a Nation, that could not be drawn from adoring them that with so much cruelty destroy'd them.

NEGLECTED.

16. It is believ'd, that the reason why *Varro* fought with so much ill success at *Cannæ* against the *Carthaginians*, was through the wrath of *Juno*: for when he made pub-

publick the *Circensian Games*, being *Ædile*, he set a young Player of extraordinary beauty to watch in the Temple of *Jupiter*: which Fact being call'd to mind after some years, was expiated with Sacrifices.

17. *Hercules* also is reported to have very severely revenged the abuse of his Worship: for when the Family of the *Potitii* had intrusted his Ceremonies, the Ministry whereof belonged to them as it were by inheritance, to be performed by servants and persons of mean degree, of which *Appius* the Censor was the occasion; all the flower of the Family, who were above thirty young men, di'd within the space of one year; and the Name of the *Potitii*, that was branch'd into twelve Families, was almost extinct; *Appius* also the Censor was stricken blinde.

18. A sharp Revenger also was *Apollo*, of an injury done to himself, who at the Sack of *Carthage* being spoil'd of his Robe of Gold, never ceas'd till the hands of the sacrilegious Souldier were found cut off among the broken pieces of his Image. *Brennus* Captain of the *Gauls*, entering into the Temple of *Delphos*, by Destiny was compelled to lay violent hands upon himself.

19. Nor was his Son *Æsculapius* a less violent Revenger of contemned Religion, who not enduring to behold a Wood consecrated to his Temple cut down by *Turullius* to build Ships for the use of *M. Antonius* Prey by a strange power so ordered it, that *Turullius* was by the command of *Cæsar*, being judg'd to death while he was in the midst of his business, executed in the very Wood: And so the God ordain'd it, that being thus remarkably slain by *Cæsar's* Souldiers, that with the same death he expiated the loss of those Trees that were cut down, and secured the safety of those that were standing.

20. Nor did *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* go unpunish'd when

who in his Censorship translated the Marble Tiles from the Temple of *Lacinian Juno* to the Fane of *Fortuna Equestris*, which he was then building at *Rome*: for he no sooner had done it, but he fell mad, and for very grief expired, hearing that of his two Sons, both Souldiers in *Illyria*, one of them was dead, the other slain; by whose mishap the Senate being warned, ordered the Tiles to be carried back to *Locri*.

21. Much after the same manner did they punish the covetousness of *Q. Pliminius*, Legate to *Scipio*, in robbing the Treasure of *Proserpina*: for when he was brought in Fetters to *Rome*, before he could come to his Tryal, he died in Prison of a most filthy Disease. The Goddess, by command of the Senate, had not only her Money restored, but double the sum.

*Forraign Examples of Religion, observed
or neglected.*

1. As to the Fact of *Pleminius*, it was well punish'd by the Conscript Fathers. But against the sordid Violencies of King *Pyrrhus*, the Goddess her self defended her self well enough: for the *Locri* being compelled to give him money out of her Treasury, while he was sailing upon the Sea laden with his impious Prey, by force of a mighty Tempest his whole Navy was cast away upon the shoar adjoyning to the said City; where the money being found entire, was restored to the most sacred Treasury of the Goddess.

2. But the Act of *Massanisa* was of another nature, whose Admiral having landed in *Melita*, and taken out of the Fane of *Juno* certain Ivory-teeth of an immense proportion, and given them as a Present to the King; *Massanisa* no sooner understood from whence they came, but he commanded them to be carried back in a Galley with five Oars, and put in the place whence

whence they were taken, having caus'd certain Words to be carved upon them, signifying that the King had taken them ignorantly, and willingly restored them.

3. *Dionysius*, born at *Syracuse*, us'd to make Jest of his Sacrileges, of which he committed more than we have now room to recount: for having plundered the Temple of *Juno* at *Locri*, and sailing upon the Sea with a prosperous gale, laughing to his friends, he said, *What a pleasant Voyage have the Gods granted to us Sacrilegious Robbers!* Having taken also a Cloak of Massie gold from *Jupiter Olympian*, which *Hiero* the Tyrant had dedicated to him out of the spoils of the *Carthaginians*; and throwing over the Statue a Woollen-mantle, told his Companions, *That a Cloak of Gold was too heavy in the Summer, too cold in the Winter, but a Woollen Cloak would serve for both Seasons.* The same person commanded the Golden beard of *Esculapius* to be taken from his Statue in his Temple at *Epidaurum*, saying, *It was not convenient for Apollo the Father to be without a Beard, and the Son to have so large a one.* He also took away the Silver and Golden Tables out of other Temples, where finding certain Inscriptions, after the manner of *Greece*, that they belonged to the good Gods, then said he, *Through their goodness we will make use of them.* He also took away the little Statues of *Victory*, *Cups* and *Crowns* which they held in their hands being all of Gold, saying, *He did but borrow them, not take um quite away:* saying, *It was an idle thing, when we pray to the Gods for good things, not to accept um when they hold um forth to us.* Who in his own person though he were not rewarded according to his deserts, yet in the infamy of his Son, he suffered after death what in his life-time he had escaped.

4. For the avoiding whereof, *Timasitheus* Prince of the *Liparitans* by his wisdom provided for his own and

and his Countries safety : for when certain of his Subjects, using Piracy, had taken a Golden cup of a very great weight, and that the people were gathered together to divide the spoil, understanding that it was consecrated to *Apollo Pythian* in lieu of their Tenth by the Romans, he took it from them, and carefully sent it to *Delphos*.

5. *Milisian Ceres*, when *Miletum* was taken by *Alexander*, and that several Souldiers were broken into the Temple to plunder it, on a sudden depriv'd them of their fight.

6. The *Persians* coming to *Delos* with a Navy of a thousand Ships, behaved themselves more irreligiously than rapaciously toward the Temple.

7. The *Athenians* banish'd *Diagoras* the Philosopher, because he adventured to affirm that he knew not whether there were any Gods or no ; or if there were any, of what nature they were. They also condemned *Socrates*, because he endeavoured to introduce a new Religion. They endured *Phidias* when he affirmed that it was better to make the Statue of *Minerva* of Marble rather than of Ivory, by reason it was more lasting ; but when he added, that it was also cheaper, they commanded him silence.

8. *Diomedon*, one of the ten Captains who at *Arctusa* won a great Victory to the *Athenians*, but to himself the reward of Condemnation ; being now led to his undeserved Execution, spake nothing else, but only that the Vows which he had made for the safety of the Army might be performed.

CHAP.

C H A P. I I.

Of Feigned Religion.

R O M A N S.

1. *Numa Pompilius.*
2. *P. Scip. African* the greater.
3. *L. Cor. Sulla.*
4. *Q. Sertorius.*

F O R R A I G N E R S.

1. *Minos* King of *Crete.*
2. *Pisistratus*, *Athenian.*
3. *Lycurgus*, *Spartan.*
4. *Zaleucus* of *Locri.*

1. **N**uma Pompilius, that he might oblige his people to the observance of Holy things, feigned to have familiarity by night with the Goddess *Egeria* and that by her direction onely, the Worship of Gods which he propos'd was instituted.

2. *Scipio*, surnamed the *African*, never went about any private or publick business, till he had been some while in the Fane of *Jupiter Capitoline*; and was therefore thought to have been begot by *Jove*.

3. *Lucius Sulla*, when he resolved to give *Bacchus* embracing a little Image of *Apollo*, which was taken out of the Temple of *Delphos*, in the sight of all his Souldiers, desired the Deity to bring to pass what he had promised.

4. *Q. Sertorius* had a tame white Hart, which he taught to follow him over all the cragged Mountains of *Lusitania*, by which he feigned himself instructed what to do, or what not.

F O R R A I G N.

1. *Minos* King of *Crete* was wont to retire

self every ninth year into a deep and antiently-consecrated Den; and there staying some time, brought forth new Laws, which he there feigned were delivered to him by *Jupiter*.

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2. *Pisistratus*, to recover the Tyranny of *Athens*, which he had lost, made as if *Minerva* her self had led him into the Castle; deceiving the *Athenians* by shewing an unknown woman who was called *Phya*, in the habit of *Minerva*.

3. *Lycurgus* perswaded the people that the Laws which he compos'd for the grave City of *Lacedamon*, were made by the counsel of *Apollo*.

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4. *Zaleucus*, in the name of *Minerva*, was accounted the wisest man among the *Locrians*.

CHAP. III.

Of Forraign Religion rejected.

1. By the Roman people. 3. *Lucius Emilius Paulus*,
2. *P. Cornelius the Pretor*.

THE new Custom which was introduced among the Feasts of *Bacchus*, when it grew to Madness, was quite taken away. *Lutatius*, who finished the first *Punick War*, was forbid by the Senate to go to *Preneſte* to consult Fortune; judging it meet that the Affairs of the Commonwealth should be governed by their own national Omens, and not those of Forraign Countries.

2. *C. Cornelius Hiſſalus*, a forraign Pretor, in the time that *Popilius Lenas* and *M. Calpurnius* were Consuls, by Edict commanded the *Caldeans* to depart out of *Italy*, who by their trivial tricks, and false in-

ter-

terpretations of the Stars, cast a gainful Mist before their eyes.

3. The same person banished those who with counterfeit worship of *Jupiter Sabazius* sought to corrupt the *Roman Customs*.

Lucius Emilius Paulus the Consul, when the Senate had decreed that the Temples of *Isis* and *Serapis* should be destroyed, and that none of the Workmen durst lay hands upon the Work, laying his Consular habit aside, and taking a Hatchet, was the first that broke open the Gates.

CHAP. IV.

Of Luckie Signes.

Which the ROMANS took.

1. *Atius Navus* the Augur.
2. *T. Gracchus*, Son of *Titus Tribune*.

4. *Lucius Metellus* High priest.

5. *M. Tullius Cicero*.

6. *M. Junius Brutus* Pro consul.

FORRAIGN.

3. *P. Claudius Pulcher*, and *L. Jun. Pullus*. Consul.

1. *Alexander the Great*.

2. *King Dejotarus*.

1. *Veins Tarquinus* the King having a minde to adde other Troops of Horse to the Troop which *Romulus* had fortunately enroll'd, being oppos'd by the Augur, in a great fury asked him, *If that which he thought of might be done?* Who answering *That it might*, the King commanded him to cleave a Whet-stone with a Razor, which was no soon brought, but *Atius* by an incredible act, made the King admit the Effect of his Profession.

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2. *Titus Gracchus* designing Tumult and Sedition, fought for Lucky Signes at home; which fell out very sad, and contrary to his Expectation: for as he was going out of doors, he stumbled in such sort, that he broke one of his Toes. Then three Crows cawing on the wrong side, let fall a piece of a Tile just before him: But he contemning all these Signes, and being expelled the Capitol by *Scipio Nasica* the High-priest, was knock'd on the head with a piece of Chair of State.

3. *P. Claudius*, in the first *Punick* War, being ready to joyn Battel, yet being willing to know the Signes after the old Custome, when he that kept the Birds told him that the Chickens would not come out of the Pénns, commanded them to be cast into the Sea, saying, *If they will not eat, let um drink*; together with *Junius* his Colleague, lost the *Roman* Navy for neglecting the Lucky Signes: Of which two, one fell by the Sentence of the People, the other prevented the ignominy of Condemnation by killing himself.

4. *Metellus* the High-priest travelling for *Tusculanum*, two Crows flew directly toward his face, as if they went to stop his journey, yet hardly prevail'd with him to return. The next night the Temple of *Vesta* was burnt, and *Metellus* sav'd the *Palladium* out of the fire.

5. *M. Cicero* had his death foretold by an unlucky Signe: for being at the Village of *Cajeta*, a Crow strook off the Gnomon of a Sun-dial before his face, and by and by flying toward him, held him by the hem of his Garment, till his Servants came and told him that certain Souldiers were come to kill him.

6. *M. Brutus* having rallied the remains of his Army against *Cesar* and *Antonins*, two Eagles flew, one from one Camp, and the other from the other, and encountring one another, the Eagle which came out of *Brutus* Camp being worsted, fled.

G FOR-

FORRAIGN.

1. *Alexander* being about to build a City in *Egypt*, *Diocrates* the Architect for want of Chalk laid out the streets with Meal: By and by a vast number of Birds from the next Lake, devoured the Meal; of which the *Egyptian* Priests made this Interpretation, *That that City should in time afford great store of Provision to Strangers.*

2. King *Dejotarus*, who was very prosperous in his Actions, was preserv'd by the sight of an Eagle: for seeing the place whence she came out, he would by no means go in there; and the house fell the next night equal with the ground.

C H A P. V.

Of Omens.

Which the ROMANS took.

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| 1. <i>The Fathers Conscript.</i> | 6. <i>Cn. Pompeius, Pro-Consul.</i> |
| 2. <i>M. Furius Camillus Dictator.</i> | 7. <i>M. Brutus Pro-Consul.</i> |
| 3. <i>L. Æmilius Paulus Consul.</i> | 8. <i>C. Cassius Pro-Consul.</i> |
| 4. <i>Cæcilia Metelli.</i> | 9. <i>Q. Petillius Consul.</i> |
| 5. <i>C. Marius in Exile.</i> | |

FORRAIGN.

1. *The Prienians.*
2. *Apolloniates.*

THe observation of Omens is founded upon a certain touch of Religion, as depending not upon any fortuitous Chance, but upon Divine Providence.

1. Where-

1. Whereby it came to pass, that when the City was destroyed by the *Gauls*, and the Senate was consulting whether they should remove to *Veii*, or rebuild their own Walls, some Cohorts returning from *Garrison*, a Centurion crying out in the place for publick Assemblies to his Eagle-bearer, *Fix your Ensigne, we'll stay here in good time*: the Senate hearing his voice, took it for a good Omen, and left off their designe of going for *Veii*. In how few words was the Domicil of the future Empire of the World designed? The Gods disdaining that the *Roman* Name sprung from happy Omens, should change its Seat, or that the glory of Victory it self should lie buried in the Ruines of a City already neer decay'd.

2. The Author of this most famous Work, *Camilus*, while he was praying, that if the happiness of the people of *Rome* seemed to any of the Gods to be too great, that they would satisfie their Envy by any mischief done to himself, at the end of his Prayer suddenly stumbling fell down; which Omen is thought to have related to the Condemnation which he afterwards underwent. But deservedly did Victory and the Prayers of this great man strive together for praise: nor was the strife of his Vertue less, that he increased the good fortune of his Country, wishing all its evil fortune might fall upon his own head.

3. How memorable was that which befel *L. Paulus* the Consul! who being by lot designed to make War with *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, in his return to his house met his youngest Daughter at the door, and observing her to look something sad, kiss'd her, and demanded the cause of her discontent; who answered, That *Perseus* was dead: that was the name of a little Dog which she highly esteemed, which di'd a little before. *Paulus* laid hold of the Omen, and upon a fortuitous saying, built the hopes of his future Triumphs.

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4. But *Cecilia* the Wife of *Metellus*, when her Sisters Daughter required, after the antient custom those Nuptial-Rites due to a Virgin of ripe years, gave occasion to the Omen her self : for the Virgin having staid in a certain Chappel for that purpose, and hearing no body speak to her minde, wearied with long standing, she desired of her Aunt to let her have some place to sit down ; to whom her Aunt repli'd, *I freely give thee my Seat* : Which saying proceeding out of kindness, prov'd ominous in the Event ; for not long after *Cecilia* dying, *Metellus* married the Virgin of whom we speak.

5. The observation of Omens was certainly the preference of *Caius Marius*, at what time he was adjudged an Enemy by the Senate, lying at the house of one *Fannia* at *Minturne* for his security : For he observed an Ass-colt when he gave him Meat, that neglecting that, he ran still to the water. At which light thinking that what was now offered by the Providence of the Gods, was to be followed, being himself otherwise very skillful in Religious Interpretations, he desired of the Multitude that came to his aid, that he might be conducted to the Sea : and so getting aboard a little Ship he sailed into *Africk*, and so avoided the Victorious Arms of *Sylla*.

6. *Pompey* the Great at the Battel of *Pharsalia* being overthrown by *Cesar*, and seeking to save himself by flight, directed his Course to the Island of *Cyprus* to gather more Forces there ; and approaching the City of *Paphos*, and viewing a stately Edifice, he asked the Pilot the name of it ; who answering, That it was called *Kings Evil*, presently lost all that little force which he had remaining : nor could he dissemble, turning his head another way, and weeping, betraying the grief which he conceived from so dire an Omen.

7. To *M. Brutus* an Event befitting the Murth

wh

which he had committed, was designed him by an Omen: For after that wicked deed, as he was celebrating his Birth-day, and studying for some convenient Greek Verse, by accident he pitched upon one in *Hem*.

Me cruel Fate and Son of fair Latona slew.

Which God being by *Cesar* and *Antonius* given for the Signe, seemed as it were to be the occasion of his overthrow.

8. With such a strange Ejaculation, the Fortune of *Cassius* amazed his ears, who when the *Rhodians* begg'd of him that they might not be deprived of all the Images of the Gods, made answer, That he had left the Sun: for having lost the Field in *Macedon*, he was not onely forced to leave the Effigies of the Sun, which he had granted them as suppliants, but also the Sun it self.

9. Worthy of remark is that Omen under which *Petilius* fell in the *Ligurian War*: for being to assail a Mountain that was called *Letbo*, he boasted in his Exhortation to his Souldiers, saying, *This day I will take Lethum or Hell*: And fighting inconsiderately, confirmed by his death the truth of his fortuitous Speech.

FORRAIGN.

1. To our own, we may adde two Forraign Examples of the same nature. The *Samians* when the *Priennenses* sent to them for aid against the *Carians*, instead of Ships and Men, puffed with Arrogance, sent them a little Skiff; which the *Samians* interpreting as an Aid sent from Heaven, willingly received, and by a true Prediction of the Fates, found her to be the Captain of the Victory.

2. Nor did the *Apollonians* repent; for being press'd by the *Illyrian War*, and craving aid of the *Epidamnians*, they answered, *That they would lend the River Æas, running by the Walls, to their assistance.* They replied, *We accept your Gift;* and so gave the River the first place in the Army, as to their Captain. After which having unexpectedly vanquish'd their Enemies, attributing the success to the accepting the Omen, thenceforward they sacrificed to *Æas* as a God, and made him their Captain in all their Battels.

CHAP. VI.

Of Prodigies.

Which fell out among 9. M. Claudius Marcellus
the ROMANS.

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| 1. To Servius Tullius. | 10. Cn. Octavius. |
| 2. Lucius Marcius Centuri-
on. | 11. M. Licinius Crassus,
Pro-Consul. |
| 3. People of Rome and Ve-
entines. | 12. Cn. Pompey the Great. |
| 4. L. Sulla Pro Consul. | 13. Julius Cæsar Dictator. |
| 5. The people of Rome at
divers times. | FORRAIGN. |
| 6. C. Flaminius Consul. | 1. Xerxes King of Persia. |
| 7. C. Hostilius Mancinus. | 2. Midas King of Phrygia,
an Infant. |
| 8. T. Græchus Pro-Consul. | 3. Plato the Philosopher, an
Infant. |

OF Prodigies also, whether prosperous or unlucky, it is no way from our purpose to discourse.

1. While *Servius Tullius* was an Infant and asleep, his Attendants beheld a flame upon his head; which Prodigy *Tanaquil* the Wife of *Tarquinius Priscus* ad-
mitting,

ming, she brought up *Servius*, who was the Son of a Servant, instead of her own Son, and advanced him to the Throne.

2. Equal happiness in Event did that flame promise which blaz'd upon the head of *Lucius Marcius*, Captain of the two Armies, which the deaths of *P.* and *Cn. Scipio's* had much weakned in *Spain*, while he was speaking to his Souldiers: for upon the sight of that, the Souldiers before fearful, now encouraged to recover their wonted Fortitude, with the slaughter of 38000 men, and a great number of Prisoners, they took two Camps of the *Carthaginians* crammed with spoil.

3. Also when after a long and sharp War the *Veii* could not be taken, though besieg'd within their own Walls, and that the delay was no less terrible to the besiegers than the besieged, the Gods themselves open'd the way to an unexpected Victory: for on a sudden the Lake *Albanus*, neither augmented by any showers, nor assisted by the inundation of any other Stream, rose far above its usual hight. To know the reason whereof, Messengers were sent to the Oracle at *Delphos*, who brought for answer, *That they should let the waters that over swelled the Lake into the Fields: For so the Veii would come into the power of the Romans.* Which before the Messengers could bring back, a Southsayer of the *Veii*, taken by one of our Souldiers and brought into the Camp, had also declared; so that the Senate doubly admonished, both obey'd the Gods, and got possession of the City.

4. Nor was this which follows an Omen of bad success: *Lucius Sulla* Pro-Consul in the Confederate War, while he was sacrificing before the *Pretorium* in the Country of *Neles*, on a sudden beheld a Snake glide from the lower part of the Altar; at the sight whereof, by the advice of *Posthumus* the Southsayer, he led forth his Army, and

got the strong Camp of the *Samnites*: which Victory was the first foundation and step to his future greatness.

5. Chiefly to be admired are those Prodigies which hapned in our City, *P. Volumnius* and *Ser. Sulpitius* being Consuls. An Ox his Lowing being chang'd into Humane Speech, exercised the minds of all people with the strangeness of the Accident. Little pieces of Flesh also fell like showers of Rain from the Sky, of which a great part was devoured by the Birds; the rest lay many days upon the ground, neither offensive to the smell, nor irksome to the sight.

At the beginning of another Tumult, Monsters of the same nature were to be seen. A Childe of half a year old in the Cow-market, proclaimed a Triumph. Another Childe was born with an Elephants head.

In *Picenum* it rain'd Stones. In *Gaul* a Wolf came and took a Sword out of the Centinels Scabbard. Bloody Ears of Corn dropt among the Sheaves, as men were reaping neer *Antium*. The Waters of *Cerite* were mix'd with Bloud. And before the second *Punic* War, an Ox was heard to speak, *Look to thy self, O Rome*.

6. *Caius Flaminius* being inauspiciously made Consul, when he was preparing to fight with *Hannibal* at the Lake of *Thrasymene*, commanded the Ensignes to be taken up, when immediately his Horse stumbling, he was thrown to the ground and pitched upon his head: and nothing regarding this Prodigy, when the Ensigne-bearers told him they could not stir the Ensignes, threatned to punish um if they did not dig um out: But of this rashness of his, would onely he himself, and not the whole people of *Rome* had felt the doleful success: for in that Battel 15000 *Romans* were slain, 6000 taken, and 20000 put to flight. The headless body of the Consul, *Hannibal* sought for, to have

have buried it, who had done what in him lay to bury the *Roman Empire*.

7. The headlong obstinacy of *Caius Flaminius*, *C. Hostilius Mancinus* followed with a vain obstinacy, to whom these Predigies hapned as he was going Consul for *Spain*. Being resolv'd to sacrifice at *Lavinium*, the Pullets being let out of the Bin, flew to the neighbouring Wood, and though sought for with all diligence imaginable, could never be found: And when he was about to go abroad in the Port of *Hercules*, whither he went afoot, he heard a strange Voice, crying, *Stay*, Mancinus: With which affrighted, and in his return putting into *Genoa*, and there going aboard a little Boat, a Snake of a prodigious bigness appeared, and suddenly vanished out of sight. Which three Prodigies he equalled with the number of Calamities which befell him; an unfortunate Battel, a shameful Truce, and a most dismal Surrender.

8. The sad Event of *Gracchus*, a most dangerous Citizen, who being an inconsiderate person, and being forewarn'd, would take no advice or counsel, makes his rashness less to be wondered at: For when being Pro-Consul, he was sacrificing among the *Lucans*, two Snakes on a sudden creeping out of some hidden place, having eaten the Liver of the Beast which he had sacrificed, retir'd to their lurking holes. And whereas by reason of this accident the Sacrifice was renew'd, the same Prodigy happen'd again. The third Sacrifice being slain, and the Entrails more diligently lookt to, neither could the Serpents be driven away when they came, nor be hinder'd in their flight; which though as the Southsayers affirm'd, it signified that the General was to be careful of his own safety, yet was not *Gracchus* so careful, but that by the treachery of *Flavins*, at whose house he lay, he was drawn to a place where *Mago* hid himself with an armed power, who slew him naked and without defence.

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9. The misfortune of the Consuls, equal Error and an end not differing from that of *Tiberius Gracchus* draws me to the memory of *Marcellus*. He inflam'd with the glory of having taken *Syracuse*, and first any driven *Hannibal* from the Walls of *Nola*, having resolv'd either to overthrow the *Carthaginians*, or at least to drive um out of *Italy*; and to that end purposing with a most solemn Sacrifice to inquire into the will and pleasure of the Gods; The first Beast that was slain before the fire, the Liver was found without a head; the next had a Liver with a double head: which being view'd, the Southsayer with a sad countenance said, *That the Entrails did not please him*: the first were altogether bad, the second were not so good. Thus *Marcellus* being admonish'd not to do any thing rashly, the next night adventuring to go out with a few men to view the Enemies Camp, environ'd by a multitude of his Enemies in the Country of the *Bruttii*, by his death occasion'd much sorrow and detriment to his Country.

10. As for *Octavius* the Consul, as he feared a most direful Omen, so he could not avoid it; for finding the head of the Image of *Apollo* broken, and so pitch'd in the ground that it could not be pull'd up, being at that time in Arms against his Colleague *Cinna*, he from thence prognosticated his own ruine; in the midst of which fear he came to a sad end, and then the fix'd head of the Image was easily set in its place.

11. Nor must we pass over in silence *Marcus Crassus*, who is to be reckon'd one of the greatest losses of our Empire, who was warn'd by many and most remarkable blows of Fate, before so great a ruine.

As he was drawing his Army out of *Carræ* against the *Parthians*, he had a mourning Garment brought him; whereas they should have brought him either a white or a purple Robe, when he was going to battle.

The

The Souldiers march'd sad and silent to their places, whereas they were wont to run with loud acclamations: One of the Eagles could scarcely be pull'd up out of the ground; the other being pull'd up, turn'd it self the quite contrary way to which it ought to have been carried. These Prodigies were very great, but the Calamities of the overthrow were far greater; the slaughter of so many fair Legions, so many Ensignes, so much of the glory and beauty of the *Roman* Militia trodden to the ground by the Horse-men of the *Barbarians*, hopeful Young men besprinkled with the blood of their Parents, and the body of their Commander among the promiscuous heaps of the Slain, thrown a common Prey to the Fowls of the air. I wish I could speak what were more delightful; I relate the truth. Thus the Gods contemn'd, become furious in their Anger; thus the Counsels of men are chastized, when they think to outbrave Celestial Admonishments.

12. For the mighty *Jove* had abundantly warn'd *En. Pompey*, that he should not try the utmost hazard of War with *Cesar*, casting his Lightning full in the faces of his Battalions marching from *Dyrrachium*, covering his Ensigns with swarms of Bees, affrighting his whole Army with Nocturnal Terrours, and the flight of the Sacrifices from the Altars: But the Laws of invincible necessity would not suffer a mind, otherwise remote enough from folly, to weigh those Prodigies with a due consideration. And therefore while he extols his large Power, his Wealth above private use, and all those Ornaments which from his Youth he had contracted even to Envy, in the space of one day he lost umall. In the Temples of the Gods, the Statues turn'd of themselves. Such a noise of men shouting, such clattering of Arms, was heard at *Antiochia* and *Ptolemais*, that the Souldiers ran to the Walls: Such

Such a noise of Drums in the most secret places of *Pergamus*: in the Temple of Victory a Palm suddenly sprang up under the Statue of *Cesar*, in the Pavement between the Stones. Whereby it is plain that the Gods did favour *Cesar*, and fain would have recover'd *Pompey* out of his Errour.

13. To thy Altars and most Holy Temples I address my self, most Divine *Julius*, that thou would'st favourably suffer the falls of so many great men to lie hid under the defence and tuition of thy Example: for we read that thou, the same day thou sat'st in the Golden Seat clothed with Purple, that thou might'st not seem to have despised the honours which the Senate had with so much diligence designed, and with so much duty offered, before thou would'st publicly shew thy wish'd-for presence to the people, didst spend some time in that religious worship which was shortly to be given to thee; and offering a fat Ox which wanted a heart, the Southsayer told thee, the Omen concern'd thy life, and care of thy own preservation: Then was that Murther committed by those persons, who while they sought to ravish thee from the number of Men, translated thee to the number of the Gods.

FORRAIGN.

Let us conclude the Domestick Relation of such Prodigies with this Example, lest by dilating farther upon those of the *Romans*, I should seem to transfer disagreeing Customs from the Temples of the Gods to private Habitations: I shall therefore touch upon Forraign Presidents, which being related in Latine, as they are of less authority, yet they bring with them something of a grateful variety.

1. In the Army of *Xerxes* which he had amassed up against *Greece*, a Mare is said to have brought forth a

Har

Hare, before the Army had yet pass'd the Mountain *Athos* : by which kind of monstrous birth, the event of such vast preparations was plainly shewed : For he that had covered the Sea with his Fleets, the Land with his Armies, was forc'd, like the most timorous Animal, with shameful flight to recover his own Kingdom.

Before he had ruin'd *Athens*, while he was advising how to invade *Lacedæmon*, a most wonderful Prodigy hapn'd while he was at supper : For the Wine being poured forth into the Cup, more than once, twice, or thrice, nay a fourth time, was changed into Blood. Whereupon the *Magi* being consulted, advised him to desist from his purpose. And had he had the least footstep of Reason in his vain breast, he might have prevented his ruine, being so often warn'd to take heed of *Leonidas* and the *Spartans*.

2. While *Midas*, to whose Scepter all *Phrygia* once was subject, was a child, a company of Ants laid a heap of Wheat in his mouth as he lay asleep. His Parents desiring to know what the meaning of the Prodigy should be, the Augurs answered, That he should be the richest of all men : Nor was the Prediction vain; for *Midas* exceeded all the Princes of his time, in plenty of Gold and Silver.

3. I should have by right and deservedly preferr'd *Plato's* Bees before *Midas's* Emmets; for they were onely Prognostications of frail and fading, these of solid and eternal Felicity; while they brought Honey and laid it upon the lips of the little Infant, sleeping in his Cradle. Which thing being reported, the Interpreters of Prodigies declared, *That a most singular grace of Utterance should hereafter drop from his mouth.* But to me those Bees, not bred upon *Hymettus* cover'd with fragrant flowers of *Thyme*, but on the verdant *Heliconian* Hills of the Muses, flourishing with all sorts of learning, seem'd to distil into his mouth the sweetest nourishment of Eloquence.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Dreams.

Of the ROMANS.

FORRAIGN.

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|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Artorius Physician to Augustus. | 1. Annibal. |
| 2. Calpurnia. | 2. Alexander. |
| 3. P. Decii, T. Manlii Consul. | 3. Simonides. |
| 4. Of T. Atinius. | 4. Croesus. |
| 5. Cicero in Exile. | 5. Cyrus. |
| 6. C. Sempronius Gracchus. | 6. Himera. |
| 7. Cassius Parmensis. | 7. The Mother of Dion. Tyrant. |
| 8. Arterius Rufus a Roman Knight. | 8. Amilcar. |
| | 9. Alcibiades. |
| | 10. An Arcadian. |

NOW because I have touched upon the Riches of *Midas*, and the Eloquence of *Plato*, I will shew you how the quiet and safety of many men has been shadowed out under several representations.

1. And where shall I sooner begin, than from the most sacred memory of Divine *Augustus*? His Physician *Artorius* being asleep, the night before the day wherein the *Romans* fought one against the other in the fields of *Philippi*, the appearance of *Minerva* admonish'd him to warn *Augustus*, then lying very ill, that notwithstanding his sickness he should not abstain from the Battel: Which *Cesar* hearing, caus'd himself to be carried in a Litter into the Field, where, while he laboured above his strength for the Victory, his Camp was taken by *Brutus*. What other can we think then, but

at the Divine Benevolence so ordain'd it, that a personage destined to immortality, should not be subject to a Fate unworthy his Divinity?

2. Nor was it only the Dream of *Artorius* that gave warning to *Augustus*, who had a natural perspicacity and vigour to judge of every thing, as a fresh and domestick President: For he had heard that *Calpurnia* the Wife of his Parent *Julius*, the last night that he lived upon earth, dream'd that she saw her husband lie stabbed and bleeding in her bosom; and being affrighted with the strangeness of the Dream, was an earnest suiter to him to abstain from going to the Senate the next day: but he, lest he should have been thought to have been mov'd with a woman's dream, went the rather to the Senate-house, where the Murtherers quickly laid violent hands upon him. It is not needful to make any comparison between the father and the Son, both equal in their Divinity: for the one had made way for himself to Heaven by his own works, the other was to let the world enjoy his virtues a long time. Therefore the Gods were only willing that the first should know the approaching change, which the other was to defer; it being enough that one Honour should be given to Heaven, and another promised.

3. Admirable also was that Dream, and famous in the Event, which the two Consuls *Decius Mus*, and *Manlius Torquatus* dream'd, when they lay incamped not far from the foot of the Mountain *Vesuvius*, at the time of the *Latin War*, which was very sharp and dangerous: For a certain person foretold to both of them, that the *Manes* and *Terra Mater* claim'd as their due the General of one side, and the whole Army on the other: But that which Captain soever should assail the forces of the Enemy, and devote himself a Victim for the good of his Army, should obtain the Victory.

Thus

This the Entrails of the Sacrifices confirmed the morning to both Consuls, who endeavoured either to expiate the misfortune, if it might be averted, or to resolv'd to undergo the determination of the Gods. Therefore they agreed, that which Wing should begin to faint, the other should with his own life appease the Fates; which while both undauntedly ventured to perform, *Decius* hapned to be the person whom the Gods required.

4. The Dream which follows, seems to concern publick Religion. A certain Master of a Family having caused his Servant to be whipped, and brought him to the punishment of the Fork in the Flaminian *Circus*, at the time of the Plebeian Plays, a little before the Show was about to begin, *Jupiter*, in a Dream commanded *Titus Atinius*, one of the Vulgar, to tell the Consuls, *That he that had danc'd before the law was Circensian Games, did no way please him; and that unless the fault were expiated by an exact restoration of the Plays, there would ensue not a little vexation and trouble to the City.* He fearing to involve the Commonwealth by Religion to his own disadvantage, held his peace. Immediately his Son, taken with a suddenness of sickness, died. Afterwards being asked by the same God in his sleep, *Whether he thought himself punished enough for the neglect of his Command?* yet remaining obstinate, was stricken with a general weakness of body: At length, by the advice of his friends being carried in a Horse-litter to the Consuls Tribune, having fully declared the cause of his misfortunes, the admiration of all men recovering his former strength, he walked afoot to his house.

5. Nor must we pass over in silence, that when *Cicero* was banished the City, by the Conspiracy of his Enemies, He diverting himself in a certain Village in the Country of *Atinate*, and falling asleep in the night,

as he thought himself wandering through strange places and uncouth Regions, he thought he met *C. Marius* in his Consuls Robes, who asked him, *What he made there wandering with so sad a Countenance ?* Whereupon *Cicero* making his condition known to him, the Consul took him by the right hand and delivered him to the next Licitor, to conduct him to his own Monument, telling him, *That there there was a more joyful hope of his better condition laid up for him.* Nor did it otherwise fall out; for the Senate made a Decree for his return in the Temple of *Jupiter* built by *Marius*.

6. But *C. Gracchus* was most openly and apparently foretold, in a Dream, the mischief of an approaching mischance: for being asleep, he saw the shape of his Brother *Titus*, who told him, *There was no way for him to avoid the same Fate which he had undergone, when he was driven out of the Capitol.* This many related from the mouth of *Gracchus* himself, before he had undertaken the Tribuneship, wherein he perish'd. And one *Celius* a Roman Historian, said, *He had heard much talk thereof while Gracchus was living.*

7. But that which follows, far exceeds the dire Aspect of the foregoing Narration. *Antonius* having lost the Battel of *Alidium*, *Cassius Parmensis*, who had taken his part, fled to *Athens*; where he fell asleep in the night, being tired with care and trouble: He thought there came to him a person of a very great stature, black Complexion, his Beard deformed, and long hanging Hair, who being ask'd what he was, answered, *Cacodemon*. Being affrighted with so horrid a sight, and terrible a name, he called up his Servants, and demanded of them if they saw any one in such a habit, whether come in or go out of the Chamber: Who affirming that no such had come there, he again betook himself to his rest; when immediately the same shape appeared to him again; where awaking altogether, he

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called